

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
OF
LIVERPOOL,
DURING THE
ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH SESSION, 1916-1917,
AND THE
ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH SESSION, 1917-1918.
No. LXV.



LIVERPOOL:
D. MARPLES & CO., 18A SOUTH CASTLE STREET.

1918.

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THE ROYAL CANADIAN INSTITUTE.

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PAPERS PRINTED.

SESSION CVI.

- Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.Ph.S.—“The Evolution of the Drama.”
- Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.Ph.S.—“The Use and abuse of Novels.”
- ALFRED W. NEWTON, M.A.—“A Liverpool Physician and Man of Letters: James Currie, M.D., F.R.S. (1756–1805).”
- Rev. F. LINSTED DOWNHAM, A.K.C.—“A Shakespeare Souvenir.”
- BERTRAM B. BENAS, B.A., LL B.—“Zionism—The Jewish National Movement.”

SESSION CVII.

- ALLAN HEYWOOD BRIGHT, J.P.—“Human Progress in the Christian Era.”
- C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A.—“Happiness.”
- HAROLD D. BATESON, M.A., J.P.—“The Battle of the Metrists.”

LIST OF PRESIDENTS

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY IN 1812.

ELECTED.	
1812	Rev. THEOPHILUS HOULBROOKE, LL.B.
1817	WILLIAM ROSCOE, F.R.S., F.L.S.
1831	THOMAS STEWART TRAILL, M.D.
1833	JOSEPH BROOKES YATES, F.S.A.
1839	Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D.
1840	Rev. THOS. TATTERSHALL, D.D.
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1849	JOSEPH BROOKES YATES, F.S.A.
1852	JOSEPH DICKINSON, M.A., M.D., F.R.S.
1855	ROBERT MCANDREW, F.R.S., F.L.S.
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1862	WILLIAM IHNE, Ph.D.
1863	JAMES A. PICTON, F.S.A.
1866	Rev. C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D.
1869	J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D.
1872	ALBERT JULIUS MOTT, F.G.S.
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1877	JOHN J. DRYSDALE, M.D., M.R.C.S.
1879	[Sir] EDWARD R. RUSSELL.
1881	EDWARD DAVIES, F.C.S., F.I.C.
1883	RICHARD STEEL, J.P.
1885	WILLIAM CARTER, LL.B., M.D., B.Sc.
1887	JAMES BIRCHALL.
1889	Rev. HENRY HUGH HIGGINS, M.A.
1890	BARON LOUIS BENAS, J.P.
1892	Rev. GERALD H. RENDALL, M.A., Litt.D.
1894	J. BIRKBECK NEVINS, M.D.
1896	JOHN NEWTON, M.R.C.S.
1897	RICHARD J. LLOYD, D.Lit., M.A., F.R.S.E.
1899	Rev. EDWARD N. HOARE, M.A.
1900	J. MURRAY MOORE, M.D., M.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.
1901	Rev. EDMUND A. WESLEY, M.A.
1903	Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C.
1905	A. THEODORE BROWN.
1906	JAMES T. FOARD.
1907	J. HAMPDEN JACKSON, F.R.G.S., F.C.I.S.
1909	ALFRED E. HAWKES, M.D.
1910	THOMAS L. DODDS, J.P.
1911	Rev. EDMUND A. WESLEY, M.A.
1912	LIONEL R. WILBERFORCE, M.A.
1913	Rev. EDWARD HICKS, D.D., D.C.L.
1914	GEORGE HENRY MORTON, M.S.A.
1915	Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.Ph.S.
1917	ALLAN HEYWOOD BRIGHT, J.P.

COUNCIL.

SESSION CVI, 1916-1917.

President :

Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.Ph.S.

Ex-Presidents :

Sir EDWARD R. RUSSELL.
Rev. G. H. RENDALL, M.A.,
Litt.D.
Rev. EDMUND A. WESLEY,
M.A.
A. THEODORE BROWN.
J. HAMPDEN JACKSON,
F.R.G.S., F.C.I.S.

ALFRED E. HAWKES, M.D.
THOMAS L. DODDS, J.P.
Prof. L. R. WILBERFORCE,
M.A.
Rev. EDWARD HICKS, D.D.,
D.C.L.
GEORGE H. MORTON, M.S.A.

Vice-President :

Lieut.-Col. NATHAN RAW, M.D., M.R.C.P.

Honorary Treasurer :

Col. J. MAXWELL McMASTER, C.M.G., V.D.

Honorary Librarian :

Rev. KHODADAD E. KEITH, M.A.

Keeper of the Records :

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON, F.R.G.S.

Hon. Secretary :

WILLIAM J. B. ASHLEY.

BERTRAM B. BENAS, B.A.,
LL.B.
KENNETH COOK, F.C.A.
Rev. F. LINSTAD DOWNHAM,
A.K.C.
ALFRED W. NEWTON, M.A.
ALLAN HEYWOOD BRIGHT,
J.P.

Rev. I. RAFFALOVICH.
ERNEST J. NEVINS, M.B.
ROLAND J. A. SHELLEY,
F.R.Hist.S.
JOHN W. THOMPSON, B.A.
THOMAS H. BICKERTON, J.P.,
L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

COUNCIL.

 SESSION CVII, 1917-1918.

President :

ALLAN HEYWOOD BRIGHT, J.P.

Ex-Presidents :

Sir EDWARD R. RUSSELL.
 Rev. G. H. RENDALL, M.A.,
 Litt.D.

Rev. EDMUND A. WESLEY,
 M.A.

Rev. WILLIAM E. SIMS,
 A.K.C., F.Ph.S.

A. THEODORE BROWN.

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON,
 F.R.G.S., F.C.I.S.

ALFRED E. HAWKES, M.D.

THOMAS L. DODDS, J.P.

Prof. L. R. WILBERFORCE,
 M.A.

Rev. EDWARD HICKS, D.D.,
 D.C.L.

GEORGE H. MORTON, M.S.A.

Vice-President :

Lieut.-Col. NATHAN RAW, M.D., M.R.C.P.

Honorary Treasurer :

Col. J. M. McMASTER,² C.M.G., V.D.

Honorary Librarian :

Rev. KHODADAD E. KEITH, B.A.

Keeper of the Records :

J. HAMPDEN JACKSON, F.R.G.S.

Hon. Secretary :

WILLIAM J. B. ASHLEY.

BERTRAM B. BENAS, B.A.,
 LL.B.

KENNETH COOK, F.C.A.

Rev. F. LINSTAD DOWNHAM,
 A.K.C.

ALFRED W. NEWTON, M.A.

Rev. I. RAFFALOVICH.

ERNEST J. NEVINS, M.B.

ROLAND J. A. SHELLEY,
 F.R.Hist.S.

JOHN W. THOMPSON, B.A.

THOMAS H. BICKERTON, J.P.,
 L.R.C.P., M.R.C.S.

C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A.

EDWARD G. NARRAMORE, L.D.S.

ORDINARY MEMBERS

ON THE SOCIETY'S ROLL AT THE CLOSE OF THE 107TH SESSION.

Life Members are marked with an asterisk ().**Associates are marked with a dagger (†).*

-
- Nov. 9, 1908 Ashley, W. J. B., 72 *Upton-road, Claughton, Birkenhead*, HON. SECRETARY
- Jan. 14, 1918 Barr, Sir James, M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S.E., 72 *Rodney-street*
- Oct. 29, 1917 Baxter, Richard W., 8 *Harrington-street*
- Oct. 28, 1907 Benas, Bertram B., B.A., LL.B., 4 *Wason-chambers, Harrington-street*
- Jan. 9, 1882 Benas, Phineas A., 5 *Princes-avenue*
- Oct. 9, 1911 Benington, Geo. M., 59 *Newsham-drive*
- Oct. 13, 1913 Bickerton, Thos. Herbert, J.P., L.R.C.P. M.R.C.S., 88 *Rodney-street*
- Nov. 8, 1909 Black, John, 25 *Alexandra-drive, Princes-park*
- †Jan. 14, 1918 Blair, Miss Ivy, 166 *Bedford-street*
- †Oct. 7, 1895 Bramwell, Miss, Eye and Ear Infirmary, *Myrtle-street*
- Oct. 13, 1913 Bright, Allan Heywood, J.P., *Ashfield, Knotty Ash*, PRESIDENT
- Oct. 9, 1916 Bright, Mrs. Allan H., *Ashfield, Knotty Ash*
- Oct. 13, 1913 Broad, William Henry, M.D., B.S., 64 *Rodney-street*
- †Oct. 8, 1906 Brookfield, Samuel, 18 *Eaton-road, Cressington*
- †Oct. 9, 1911 Brookfield, Mrs. S., 18 *Eaton-road, Cressington*

- Oct. 31, 1892 Brown, A. Theodore, *Carfax, St. Michael's Hamlet*, EX-PRESIDENT
- Oct. 13, 1913 Bryant, Edward Arthur, *Clydesdale, 8 Groes-road, Cressington*
- Oct. 15, 1917 Burnett, Miss Edith M., *Devonshire-house, Devonshire-park, Birkenhead*
- †Oct. 9, 1911 Burrell, Miss C., *53 Huskisson-street*
- †Oct. 9, 1911 Burrell, Miss A., *53 Huskisson-street*
- †Oct. 9, 1911 Burton, John T., F.C.I.S., *Fradswell, Wallasey-road, Wallasey*
- Oct. 1, 1894 Candlin, W. J., *48 Prussia-road, Hoylake*
- Nov. 26, 1917 Constable, Kenneth M., B.A. (Oxon.), A.I.N.A., *7 Hamilton-square, Birkenhead*
- Dec. 20, 1909 Cook, Kenneth, F.C.A., *African-house, 6 Water-street*
- Nov. 1, 1915 Cookson, Charles, *3 Olive-mount Villas, Wavertree*
- †Nov. 26, 1917 Cookson, Miss Nellie, *3 Olive-mount Villas, Wavertree*
- †Oct. 9, 1911 Davis, Miss G. Tank, *Hahnemann Hospital, Hope-street*
- Oct. 9, 1916 Dawbarn, C. Y. C., M.A., *The Lodge, Blundellsands*
- Oct. 18 1915 Digby, P. R., *51 Stanley-street, Tranmere, Birkenhead*
- Feb. 10, 1908 Dodds, Thomas L., O.B.E., J.P., *Charlesville Birkenhead*, EX-PRESIDENT
- Nov. 28, 1892 Douglas, Robert R., *Oaklands, Grassendale*
- Oct. 9, 1911 Dowdall, Thos., *12 Thorburn-road, New Ferry*
- Nov. 25, 1912 Downham, Rev. F. Linstead, A.K.C., *Novar, Stanley Park*
- †Nov. 11, 1912 Doyle, Mrs. E. M., *Ryemoor, Broadgreen*
- Nov. 18, 1889 Duncan, W. A., *Great Charlotte-street*
- Jan. 28, 1918 Elwes, Dudley A., *17 Oakbank-road, Sefton-park*

- †Oct. 9, 1911 English, Miss H. S., 15 *Gambier-terrace*
 Oct. 23, 1916 Eyre, Miss F., *Dovecot, Knotty Ash*
 Oct. 29, 1888 Forster, Walter P., 17 *Tarleton-street*
 Nov. 26, 1917 Gibson, J. Hamilton, O.B.E., M.I.N.A., 7
St. James'-road, New Brighton
 Oct. 9, 1911 Gill, Geo. Morris, 12 *Queens-road, Rock*
Ferry
 *Dec. 12, 1892 Gladstone, Robert, Jun., B.C.L., M.A., *Vale-*
road, Woolton
 Oct. 29, 1917 Grundy, Miss Margaret B., *Liverpool College,*
Lockerby-road, Anfield
 Oct. 9, 1911 Hamilton, Augustus, 14 *Hartington-road*
 †Oct. 9, 1911 Hamilton, Mrs. Augustus, 14 *Hartington-road*
 †Oct. 15, 1917 Hamilton, Miss Nina, 14 *Hartington-road*
 †Oct. 9, 1911 Hartley, Miss Eliz., 93 *Ullet-road*
 Oct. 1, 1894 Hawkes, Alfred E., M.D., 31 *Broxton-road,*
Wallasey, Ex-PRESIDENT
 Oct. 13, 1913 Holland, Jas. Wm. Thurstan, B.A., 43
Rodney-street
 †Nov. 27, 1911 Holt, J. G., 17 *Seafield-drive, New Brighton*
 Nov. 26, 1917 Hunt, Frank F., 7 *Lancaster-avenue, Sefton-*
park
 Oct. 9, 1911 Hutchinson, S. Mason, J.P., *The Marfords,*
Bromborough
 Oct. 9, 1911 Hutchinson, Mrs., *The Marfords, Brom-*
borough
 Feb. 11, 1918 Jackson, J. Parke, 1 *St. Hilary-drive, Wal-*
lasey
 Nov. 26, 1917 Jacobsen, W. A., 36 *Rossett-road, Crosby*
 †Nov. 26, 1917 Jacobsen, Miss Elizabeth, 63 *Newsham-*
drive
 April 29, 1889 Jones, Morris P., J.P., 11 *Dale-street*
 Oct. 3, 1910 Keith, Rev. Khodadad, E., M.A., *Selside,*
Olive-lane, Wavertree, HON. LIBRARIAN
 †Oct. 19, 1914 Keith, Mrs. Khodadad E., *Selside, Olive-lane,*
Wavertree

- *Dec. 11, 1871 Leigh, Richmond, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., *Reitz, Orange River Colony, S. Africa*
- *Nov. 12, 1917 Leverhulme, The Right Hon. Lord, *Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Cheshire*
- Mar. 11, 1918 Mackie, Hector, 10 *Pelham-road, Liscard*
- Oct. 23, 1916 McDonald, Archie W., M.D., L.R.C.P., *Glencoe, Huyton*
- Feb. 25, 1918 McElwain, Miss Louie, 72 *Upper Parliament-street*
- Oct. 30, 1882 McMaster, Col. John Maxwell, C.M.G., V.D., 19 *Castle-street*, HON. TREASURER
- Nov. 8, 1909 McMillan, Miss E., 16 *Ashfield-road*
- Nov. 26, 1917 McNememey, W. H., M.I.N.A., 55 *Greenbank-road, Birkenhead*
- *Oct. 13, 1911 Mellor, John, *Somerford, Nicholas-road, Blundellsands*
- *Oct. 5, 1914 Mellor, Miss F. E., *Somerford, Nicholas-road, Blundellsands*
- Oct. 15, 1917 Melly, Miss Eva, 90 *Chatham-street*
- Jan. 28, 1918 Mewton, John R., L.R.I.B.A., *Kern Knotts, Devonshire-park, Birkenhead*
- †Mar. 14, 1910 Morris, Miss Anne Gladys, 18 *Parkfield-road, S.*
- Mar. 6, 1882 Morton, George Henry, M.S.A., 14 *Grove-park*, EX-PRESIDENT
- Oct. 5, 1914 Morton, Mrs., 14 *Grove-park*
- *Oct. 21, 1867 Muspratt, Edmund K., Ph.D., J.P., *Seaforth Hall, Seaforth*
- Nov. 26, 1900 Narramore, Edward G., L.D.S., Eng., 39 *Canning-street*
- Oct. 1, 1894 Nevins, J. Ernest, M.B., Lond., 32 *Princes-avenue*
- Nov. 2, 1896 Newton, Alfred William, M.A., 2 *Princes-gate West*
- Oct. 9, 1913 Public Library, The, of South Australia, *Adelaide*

- Nov. 8, 1909 Raffalovich, Rev. I., 34 *Mulgrave-street*
 Feb. 11, 1918 Randle, Miss Hilda R., 4 *Arnside-road, Oxton*
 Nov. 28, 1910 Raw, Nathan, M.D., M.R.C.P., C.M.G., 66 *Rodney-street*, VICE-PRESIDENT
 Oct. 31, 1881 Rennie, J. W., 38 *Castle-road, Liscard*
 Oct. 25, 1909 Richardson, R. D., *Southlands, Aigburth-road*
 †Nov. 24, 1910 Roberts, H. A., 19 *Halkyn-avenue*
 †Jan. 23, 1911 Robson, Miss Winifred F., 7 *Bertram-road, Sefton-park*
 Mar. 5, 1917 Rollo, Miss Florence, *The Park, Waterloo*
 *Mar. 25, 1912 Rothschild, Lord, Ph.D., F.R.S., Director Zoological Museum, *Tring, Herts*
 Nov. 12, 1883 Rutherford, Sir William Watson, M.P. (Messrs. Rutherfords), 41 *Castle-street*
 †Dec. 12, 1892 Rye, Miss Ellen L., *Bedford College, Bedford-street*
 Oct. 18, 1915 Saxton, William, 4 *Freehold-street, Fairfield*
 †Oct. 9, 1911 Sears, Miss Annie, 28 *Onslow-road, Fairfield*
 Oct. 18, 1897 Shelley, Roland J. A., F.R.Hist.S., *Denbie House, Formby, Lancashire*
 Oct. 31, 1898 Sims, Rev. W. E., A.K.C., F.Ph.S., *The Vicarage, Aigburth*, EX-PRESIDENT
 †Nov. 2, 1903 Sims, Mrs. W. E., *The Vicarage, Aigburth*
 †Nov. 26, 1917 Sims, Miss Barbara, *The Vicarage, Aigburth*
 †Nov. 26, 1917 Sims, Miss Joan, *The Vicarage, Aigburth*
 April 4, 1870 Smith, James, 37 *North John-street*
 Oct. 4, 1897 Thomas, His Honour Judge, LL.B., B.A., *Homewood, Holly-road, Fairfield*
 Oct. 21, 1878 Thompson, J. W., B.A., Lond. and Victoria *Hazel-bank, Freshfield*
 .Oct. 19, 1914 Turnbull, G. H., *Southlands, Aigburth-road*
 †Oct. 19, 1914 Walker, Miss Isabel E., *Park House, Huyton*
 Oct. 15, 1917 Wallace, Miss Elizabeth, *Dovecot, Pilch-lane, Knotty Ash*
 Oct. 24, 1910 Weightman, Edward J., 29 *Shiel-road*

- April 1, 1901 Wilberforce, Prof. L. R., M.A., 5 *Ashfield-road, Aigburth*, EX-PRESIDENT
- †Nov. 24, 1913 Window, Miss Dora McRae, 28 *Onslow-road, Fairfield*
- Oct. 19, 1914 Wright, Alfred E., *Westby Haigh-road Waterloo*
- †Nov. 8, 1909 Wright, Miss, 29 *Greenheys-road, Princes-park*
- †Nov. 8, 1909 Wright, Miss M. T., 29 *Greenheys-road, Princes-park*

HONORARY MEMBERS.

LIMITED TO FIFTY.

- 1.—1897 Henry Longuet Higgins, 75 *Gunterstone-road, West Kensington, London, W.*
- 2.—1899 Rev. G. H. Rendall, M.A., Litt.D., *Dedham House, Dedham, Essex*, EX-PRESIDENT
- 3.—1908 Sir Edward R. Russell, *Victoria-street*, EX-PRESIDENT
- 4.—1911 Hugh Reynolds Rathbone, J.P., *Oakwood, Aigburth*
- 5.—1911 Right Rev. Francis James Chavasse, D.D., LL.D., M.A., *The Palace, Abercromby-square*
- 6.—1911 Right Rev. Wm. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., D.C.L., D.Litt., 14 *Wilton-street, London, S.W.*
- 7.—1911 Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, P.C., K.C., M.P., LL.D.,
- 8.—1911 Sir Dyce Duckworth, Bart., M.D., F.R.C.P., LL.D., 28 *Grosvenor-place, London, S.W.*
- 9.—1911 Sir Donald MacAlister, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., M.D., M.A., B.Sc., F.R.C.P., F.R.G.S., *University of Glasgow*
- 10.—1911 Sir Alfred Wm. Winterslow Dale, M.A., LL.D., J.P., *University of Liverpool*
- 11.—1911 Sir Walter Raleigh, K.C.B., M.A., Prof. of English Litt., *Oxford*
- 12.—1911 Sir William Watson, LL.D., *Devonshire Club, St. James's, S.W.*
- 13.—1911 Mrs. Mary Augusta Ward, *Stocks, Tring*
- 14.—1911 Richard Caton, M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P., J.P., *Holly Lea, Livingston-drive South, Liverpool*
- 15.—1911 Professor John MacCunn, M.A., LL.D., *Ben Cruash Lodge, Tarbet, Loch Lomond*

- 16.—1911 Professor Wm. Abbot Herdman, D.Sc., F.L.S.,
F.R.S., *Croxteth Lodge, Liverpool*
- 17.—1911 Miss Jessie Macgregor, 12 *Chalcot-gardens, Eaton-*
avenue, London, N.W.
- 18.—1911 Rev. John Bennet Lancelot, M.A., *St. James'*
Vicarage, Birkdale
- 19.—1912 Right Hon. Edward George Villiers Stanley, P.C.,
G.C.V.O., C.B., D.L., 17th Earl of Derby,
Knowsley, Prescott
- 20.—1912 Sir Oliver Joseph Lodge, M.Sc., F.R.S., D.Sc.,
LL.D., M.I.E.E., *Mariemont, Edgbaston*
- 21.—1912 Sir Wm. Martin Conway, M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.,
Allington Castle, Maidstone
- 22.—1912 Sir Wm. Bower Forwood, K.C.B.E., D.L., J.P.,
Bromborough Hall, Cheshire
- 23.—1912 Stuart Deacon, B.A., LL.B., J.P., *Gorse Cliff,*
New Brighton
- 24.—1912 Henry Duckworth, F.L.S., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., J.P.,
Grey Friars, Chester
- 25.—1912 Professor Andrew Cecil Bradley, LL.D., Litt.D.,
M.A., 9 *Edwards-square, Kensington, W.*
- 26.—1912 Professor Edward Jenks, B.C.L., M.A., 9 *Old-*
square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
- 27.—1916 Rev. Edward Hicks, D.D., D.C.L., EX-PRESIDENT
- 28.—1918 Rev. Edmund Alfred Wesley, M.A., 58 *Grove-street,*
EX-PRESIDENT

THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF LIVERPOOL.

Dr.

HONORARY TREASURER'S STATEMENT—SESSION 1915-16.

Cr.

RECEIPTS.			£	s.	d.	PAYMENTS.			£	s.	d.									
Balance in Bank from previous Session						...	...	37	16	10	Marples & Co.—Printing, etc.			...	...	14	5	0		
Subscriptions received, viz. :—												Mrs. Ellick—Refreshments			...	...	18	1	3	
58 at £1/1/0						...	...	60	18	0	Royal Institution—Rent			...	...	12	0	0		
22 at 10/6						...	...	11	11	0	Mr. W. J. B. Ashley—Secretarial and Disbursements			...	...	20	0	0		
Arrears received						...	...	—	—	—	Do. Postage, etc.			...	...	2	6	6		
Volumes sold—5/6, 5/-						...	...	...	...	6	16	6	Hon. Treasurer's Expenses of Collection			...	...	1	1	4
Interest allowed by the Bank						...	...	...	...	0	10	6	Do. Postage, etc.			...	...	0	10	0
						...	...	...	...	0	13	6	Do. Cheque Book			...	...	0	2	1
												Dr. Tattersall—Expenses			...	...	0	7	6	
												J. Lizars—Lantern			...	...	2	5	0	
												Rev. K. E. Khodadad—Expenses as Hon. Librarian			...	...	0	3	6	
												Balance in Bank			...	...	47	4	2	
																		£118 6 4		
																		£118 6 4		

Audited and found correct,

KENNETH COOK,

EDWARD G. NARRAMORE.

LIVERPOOL, 12th October, 1916.

THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF LIVERPOOL.

Dr.

HONORARY TREASURER'S STATEMENT—SESSION 1916-17.

Cr.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance from last Account (1915-16) ...	...	47 4 2	Royal Institution—Rent ...	...	12 0 0
Subscriptions received, viz. :—			J. Hampden Jackson—Disbursements ...	...	12 14 11
52 at £1/1/0 ...	54	12 0	W. J. B. Ashley—Secretarial and Disbursements	20	0 0
19 at 10/6 ...	9	19 6	Mrs. Ellick to 18/12/16... ..	...	10 4 4
			Do. „ 19/3/17 ..	...	8 12 6
Arrears received, viz. :—3 at £1/1/- and 1 at 10/6	3	13 6	D. Marples & Co.—Stationery, etc. ...	...	14 15 0
Volumes sold—5/-, 1/- £1/2/0 ...	...	1 8 0	Do. Volume	...	36 13 8
Donation from Allan H. Bright, Esq. ...	...	12 14 11	J. Lizars—Lantern, Dr. Hawke's Paper ...	...	0 17 6
Interest allowed by Bank	...	0 18 6	Do. „ Rev. Cortie's Lecture ...	...	0 17 6
			Rev. A. L. Cortie's Expenses	...	1 1 0
			W. J. B. Ashley—Postage, etc.	...	1 14 0
			Hon. Treasurer's Expenses—Postage	...	0 8 6
			Do. do. Commission on Collection	0	17 6
			Balance in Bank	9	14 2
				<u>£130</u>	<u>10 7</u>

Audited and found correct,

KENNETH COOK,

EDWARD G. NARRAMORE.

LIVERPOOL, 22nd October, 1917.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
LIVERPOOL
LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH SESSION, 1916-17.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 9th October, 1916. The President. Rev. W. E. Sims, A.K.C., F.Ph.S., occupied the chair. In the absence on service of the Hon. Treasurer (Col. J. M. McMaster), the Financial Statement was presented by the Hon. Secretary, Mr. William J. B. Ashley. This, together with the following Report of the Council, which had been printed and circulated, was then duly adopted :—

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council has much pleasure in stating that the One Hundred and Fifth Session of the Society, 1915-16, has been, notwithstanding the War, very successful. The Rev. William E. Sims, who was President during the years 1903-4 and 1904-5, occupied the chair. His inaugural address, entitled "Some Reflections on the Study of Literature," and participation in the discussions on the

various lectures and addresses, afforded additional interest to the proceedings throughout the session.

The intellectual standard of the Society has been maintained, and the average attendance has been 38 per meeting.

The Council feels grateful to those who have supported the Society so loyally during the past year, and although the membership has slightly decreased, it is hoped that members and associates will not only continue their support, but exercise their influence in the interest of the Society.

The Vice-President, Dr. Nathan Raw, the Hon. Treasurer, Col. J. M. McMaster, and several other members are on service, or devoting their time to work in connection with the war.

The Council records with regret the death during the year of Sir Henry Roscoe, Dr. Andrew Commins, and Mr. Edward Davies, who were all Honorary Members; Mr. James Mellor, who was a Life Member and a member of the Council for many years; Mrs. Sephton, who was one of the first lady members of the Society,* and Mr. George Harley. Archdeacon Madden, Lieut.-Col. J. W. Ellis, and Mr. Darbishire, who were former members, have also passed away.

The President then delivered his Inaugural Address, entitled "The Evolution of the Drama." A resolution of thanks to the President for his interesting paper was moved by the Rev. E. A. Wesley, seconded by Mr. Allan H. Bright, and carried unanimously.

Officers for the Session were then duly elected, as

* Mrs. Sephton was elected on 15th October, 1883, and for many years was an active and diligent member of the Council. In 1911-12 and 1912-13 she was prominently useful on the Ladies' Committees that did so much to promote the success of the Centenary celebrations.

follows :—Vice-President — Dr. Nathan Raw, M.R.C.P.
Hon. Treasurer—Col. J. M. McMaster, C.M.G., V.D.
Hon. Secretary—Mr. William J. B. Ashley. Hon. Librarian Rev. Khodadad E. Keith, M.A.* Keeper of the Records—Mr. J. Hampden Jackson, F.R.G.S.

The following members were elected to serve on the Council in place of those retiring :—Mr. Roland J. A. Shelley, Mr. John W. Thompson, and Mr. Thomas H. Bickerton, and the following were re-elected to serve thereon :—Mr. B. B. Benas, Mr. Kenneth Cook, Rev. F. Linstead Downham, Mr. Alfred W. Newton, Mr. Allan H. Bright, Rev. I. Raffalovich, and Mr. Ernest J. Nevins.

The Rev. Edward Hicks, D.D., D.C.L., Ex-President, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

* Formerly Khodadad.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

II. 23rd October, 1916. The President occupied the chair. Mr. Alfred W. Newton, M.A., delivered an address entitled "A Liverpool Physician and Man of Letters: James Currie, M.D., F.R.S. (1756-1805)."

Mr. A. W. McDonald, L.R.C.P., and Miss F. Eyre were elected Members of the Society.

III. 6th November, 1916. The President occupied the chair. Mrs. Allan H. Bright delivered an address entitled "Dante Gabriel Rossetti."

IV. 20th November, 1916. The President occupied the chair. Mr. Allan H. Bright exhibited a box of dominoes that had been made by French prisoners of war in Liverpool. The President thanked Mr. Bright for his interesting exhibit. The Rev. Edmund A. Wesley, M.A., delivered an address entitled "Herbert Spencer: the Man and the Philosopher."

V. 4th December, 1916. The President occupied the the chair. Mr. Thomas L. Dodds, J.P., delivered an address entitled "Shakespeare's London: an Itinerary, 1598." In proposing the vote of thanks to Mr. Dodds, the Rev. F. Linstead Downham read four sonnets entitled "A Shakespeare Souvenir," which he had written and dedicated to the Society.

VI. 18th December, 1916. The President occupied the chair. His Honour Judge A. P. Thomas, LL.B., B.A., delivered an address entitled "The Task of Reconstruction in the Domain of International Law."

VII. 22nd January, 1917. On taking the chair the President intimated that Miss A. Maude Royden, who was to have delivered an address that evening entitled "Shelley—a Prophet of the Future," was suffering from influenza, and had to cancel her engagement. He kindly

offered to read a paper entitled "The Use and Abuse of Novels."—The offer was accepted with unanimity.

VIII. 5th February, 1917. The President occupied the chair. Dr. A. E. Hawkes delivered an address entitled "Simon St. Liz, Earl of Northampton," which was illustrated by a series of interesting lantern views.

IX. 19th February, 1917. The President occupied the chair, and introduced Sir James Barr, M.D., who gave an address entitled "Some of the Lessons of the War."

X. 5th March, 1917. The President occupied the chair, and introduced the Rev. A. L. Cortie, S.J., who lectured upon "The Formation of the Sun and Stars," illustrating his remarks by a series of interesting lantern slides.

Dr. H. Whichello, Hon. Secretary of the Astronomical Society, made a short communication on the planet Venus.

Miss Florence Rollo was elected a Member of the Society.

XI. 19th March, 1917. The President occupied the chair, and in suitable terms proposed that Mr. Allan H. Bright, J.P., be elected President of the Society for the ensuing Session. The proposal was seconded by the Rev. E. A. Wesley, and carried unanimously.

In accepting the office of President, Mr. Bright remarked that he had a personal interest in the Society and would endeavour to carry out its great traditions.

Mr. Bertram B. Benas, B.A., LL.B., then delivered an address entitled "Zionism—the Jewish National Movement."

The attendances at the meetings during the Session were:—Annual Meeting, 51; Ordinary Meetings, 34, 63, 29, 38, 28, 46, 32, 44, 51, 55.

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH SESSION, 1917-18.

ROYAL INSTITUTION, LIVERPOOL.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 15th October, 1917. The retiring President occupied the chair and made sympathetic allusion to the death of Mr. J. Simm Smith, who had been a member since 1863.

In the absence on service of the Hon. Treasurer (Col. J. McMaster, C.M.G., V.D.), the Financial Statement was presented by the Hon. Secretary (Mr. William J. B. Ashley). This, together with the following Report of the Council, which had been printed and circulated, was then duly adopted.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

During the One Hundred and Sixth Session of the Society, eleven meetings were held, and, notwithstanding the depression of the war, the attendance averaged 43.

The Rev. William E. Sims, who was President during the previous Session, occupied the chair on every occasion. His Presidential Address, entitled "The Evolution of the Drama," was greatly appreciated; and the lectures and papers, contributed by members and visitors throughout the Session, maintained the best traditions of the Society.

The Rev. Edward Hicks, D.D., D.C.L., accepted an

Honorary Membership on his retirement, in consequence of his leaving Liverpool for the South of England.

The position of the Society as regards finance and membership is favourable. The general expenses were kept within reasonable limits, and the Society is free of all liabilities. There were four resignations during the year. The Council warmly thanks those who supported the Society, and hopes both members and associates will continue to further the Society's interests.

The Council records with regret the death, in action, of Lieut. H. C. McLean, LL.M., and also the death of Mr. George H. Ball. Mr. Ball had been a member since 1876. He was a traveller of remarkably wide experience; on several occasions he favoured the Society with contributions, and frequently participated in its discussions. The Rev. Nevison Loraine, Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, a former member of the Society, passed away during the year.

On the motion of Mr. Thomas L. Dodds, seconded by Dr. A. E. Hawkes, a warm vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Sims for his constant devotion to the interests of the Society during his period of office.

Mr. Sims, having suitably replied, requested the new President, Mr. Allan H. Bright, J.P., to take the chair.

On taking the chair, Mr. Bright remarked that his great-grandfather, Mr. J. B. Yates, was President of the Society in 1833. He then delivered his Inaugural Address, entitled "Human Progress in the Christian Era." A resolution of thanks to the President was moved by His Honour Judge Thomas, seconded by the Rev. F. Linstead Downham, and carried unanimously.

Officers for the Session were then duly elected as follows:—Vice-President—Lieut.-Col. Nathan Raw, M.D.,

M.R.C.P. Hon. Treasurer—Col. J. M. McMaster, C.M.G., V.D. Hon. Librarian—Rev. Khodadad, E. Keith, M.A. Keeper of the Records—Mr. J. Hampden Jackson, F.R.G.S. Hon. Secretary—Mr. William J. B. Ashley.

The following members were elected to serve on the Council in place of those retiring:—Mr. C. Y. C. Dawbarn and Mr. Edward G. Narramore, and the following were re-elected to serve thereon:—Mr. Bertram B. Benas, Mr. Kenneth Cook, Rev. F. Linstead Downham, Mr. Alfred W. Newton, Rev. I. Raffalovich, Mr. Ernest J. Nevins, Mr. Roland J. A. Shelley, Mr. John W. Thompson, and Mr. Thomas H. Bickerton.

Miss Eva Melly, Miss Edith Burnett, and Miss Elizabeth Wallace were elected Members of the Society, and Miss Nina Hamilton an Associate.

ORDINARY MEETINGS.

II. 29th October, 1917. The President occupied the chair. Lord Leverhulme delivered an address entitled "Victims of Education."

Mr. Richard W. Baxter, Miss Margaret Grundy, and the Rev. C. E. Procter were elected Members of the Society, and Mrs. Procter an Associate.

III. 12th November, 1917. In the absence of the President, the Rev. W. E. Sims occupied the chair, and sympathetically alluded to the death in action of 2nd Lieut. Garfield Warrington. Mr. C. Y. C. Dawbarn, M.A., delivered an address entitled "Happiness."

The Right Hon. Lord Leverhulme was elected a Life-Member of the Society.

IV. 26th November, 1917. The President occupied the chair, and after referring to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mr. J. W. Hughes, who had

been a member since 1879, introduced Mr. Edward R. Dibdin (Curator, Walker Art Gallery), who delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern views, entitled "The Early Years of the English Pre-Raphaelites."

Mr. Frank Hunt, Mr. W. Jacobson, Mr. Kenneth Constable, Mr. Joseph Gibson, Mr. W. H. McMenemey were elected Members of the Society, and Miss Barbara Sims, Miss Joan Sims, Miss Nellie Cookson, and Miss Elizabeth Jacobsen were elected Associates.

V. 10th December, 1917. The President occupied the chair, and, after exhibiting an old Slavonic service book, introduced Mr. A. Bruce Boswell, M.A. (Lecturer in Russian, the University of Liverpool), who delivered an address entitled "The Liberation Movement in Russia."

VI. 14th January, 1918. The President occupied the chair, and referred to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mr. Richard Eastley and Mr. J. Hampden Jackson. The Rev. W. E. Sims proposed the following resolution of sympathy with Mrs. Jackson.

"The Society records with earnest and sincere sympathy the irreparable loss you have sustained by the death of your husband, Mr. J. Hampden Jackson. Mr. Jackson's intellectual contributions to its *Proceedings* and compilation of the Centenary Roll are testimonies of his devotion and zeal for the welfare of the Society, and he will be remembered as one of its most brilliant members."

In seconding the resolution, Dr. A. E. Hawkes remarked that he hoped the valuable writings which Mr. Jackson had left in manuscript would be published. The resolution was carried in silence, the members standing.

After intimating that the Rev. Edmund A. Wesley had resigned in consequence of a contemplated change in residence, the President alluded to the honours that had been bestowed by the King upon Sir William Forwood,

Mr. Watson Rutherford, M.P., Lieut.-Col. Nathan Raw, and Mr. J. Hamilton Gibson.

The President then introduced Miss A. Maude Royden, who delivered an address entitled "Shelley: a Prophet of the Future."

Sir James Barr was elected a Member of the Society, and Miss Ivy Blair an Associate.

VII. 28th January, 1918. The President occupied the chair, and introduced Mr. Harold D. Bateson, M.A., J.P., who delivered an address entitled "The Battle of the Metrists."

Mr. Dudley A. Elwes and Mr. John R. Mewton were elected Members of the Society.

VIII. 11th February, 1918. The President occupied the chair, and introduced Mr. Kenneth Forbes, M.A. (Lecturer in Education, The University of Liverpool), who delivered an address entitled "The Art of Letter-Writing."

Miss Hilda Randle and Mr. J. Parke Jackson were elected Members of the Society.

IX. 25th February, 1918. The President occupied the chair, and introduced the Rev. Canon Linton Smith, D.D., D.S.O., who delivered an address entitled "War: its Moral Value and Moral Equivalent."

Miss Louie McElwain was elected a Member of the Society.

X. 11th March, 1918. The President occupied the chair, and introduced Mr. James G. Legge, B.A. (Director of Education in Liverpool), who lectured upon "The Art of Primitive Man." The lecture was illustrated by an admirable series of lantern views.

Mr. Hector Mackie was elected a Member of the Society.

XI. 25th March, 1918. On the President taking the

chair, the Rev. W. E. Sims proposed that Mr. Allan H. Bright be re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing Session. The proposal was seconded by Dr. A. E. Hawkes, and carried with cordial acclamation.

In again accepting office, Mr. Bright said that he greatly appreciated the honour, and would endeavour to maintain the high standard of the Society.

The Rev. I. Raffalovich then delivered an address entitled "Israel's Literary Record in Dispersion."

The Rev. Edmund A. Wesley, M.A., was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

The attendances at the meetings during the Session were:—Annual Meeting, 53; Ordinary Meetings, 330, 48, 54, 52, 77, 33, 48, 58, 71, 55.

PAPERS READ DURING
THE 106TH AND 107TH SESSIONS.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE DRAMA.

BY WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.PH.S.,

PRESIDENT.

IN the tercentenary year of the death of Shakespeare it might seem natural and appropriate for the President of a literary society to devote an opportunity, presented by the duty of giving an inaugural address, to some consideration of the life and work of our greatest dramatic poet.

But in this Society we have had the good fortune in previous sessions to hear several masterly papers on Shakespeare read by the late Mr. James Thomas Foard, and this session we anticipate the pleasure of listening to a lecture on the same subject by Mr. Thomas L. Dodds. Instead, therefore, of dealing with the specific work of Shakespeare, I propose to give a sketch, necessarily brief and inadequate, of the Evolution of the Drama, the medium by means of which the wisdom and genius of Shakespeare became known to the world.

There was never a period, in all probability, when the dramatic instinct had no existence. Signs of its presence are to be found in the earliest records of mankind, and there is reason to conclude from the evidence of scientific authorities that it may claim a far higher antiquity. Indeed the mimetic faculty in animals appears to indicate an innate capacity for make-believe that may have ranked among the amenities of existence when those engaging creatures, the Plesiosaurus and

the Ichthyosaurus, aspired after world-dominion, and "dragons of the prime that tare each other in their slime" added the zest of dramatic movement to the gaiety of life. I do not, however, purpose to begin my survey with a period quite so remote as the age of these Mesozoic ancestors of the men in buskins, but will commence with the origin of the drama as a conscious method of representation. And the first thing we observe is that the drama owes its inception to the religious emotions of man. It was cradled in religion. The most popular cult in ancient Greece was the worship of Dionysus, a fact the reason of which we need not go far to seek. This amiable celestial benefactor was supposed to be the author of that gift which makes glad the heart of man. And at certain seasons of the year were kept the feasts associated with the ingathering of the fruit of the vine, the crushing of grapes in the wine press, and the broaching of the cask of generous refreshment. Men assembled together in a spirit of joyous gratitude, with pious revelry to offer praise in the form of a hymn recounting what tradition taught them concerning the life and doings of the god. Rustic simplicity probably characterised these effusions, none of which survive. Then to give a touch of realism, and fill the lacuna caused by the absence of the benefactor, the leader of the chorus took the part of the deity and recited an account of some exploit or performance of the god, eliciting in response the tuneful admiration of the worshippers. Here was poetry in action. It was the birth of the Drama.

From the dithyramb, or choral hymn, arose both Tragedy, etymologically the goat song, the hymn of praise resounding from the throats of devotees who simulated the satyrs or goat-like courtiers mythically

associated with the god of wine, and Comedy, etymologically the village song, expressive of the rude joy of the beneficiaries of the deity. It would be interesting to trace in detail the gradual development of this primitive religious service, but we are warned in time by recollection of a proverb that reminds us of the difficulty sometimes experienced in seeing a wood in consequence of the trees! As years passed on, the original simplicity of a choir singing in unison gave place by degrees to a more elaborate system—there was disintegration in the interests of individualism. The coryphæus, or leader, who played the part of the god, instead of merely evoking the plaudits of an admiring chorus, received an articulate reply from one of its members—the hypocrites, or answerer. Later on, Æschylus, by the introduction of another actor, converted a choral service enriched by dialogue into a play capable of giving expression to the thought and emotion of mankind, in a series of episodes separated from each other by the songs of the chorus. To-day, conversation and the consumption of caramels during intervals between the acts, musically accompanied by the ill-requited and scurvily-treated efforts of an orchestra, remind us at a distance of this arrangement of the Greek theatre.

In primitive times the religious celebration of the bounty of Dionysus was no doubt sufficiently barbaric, but genius evolved out of even such unpromising elements as the rustic revellings of hilarious vine-dressers immortal expression of the loftiest intellectual and moral energy of mankind. The religious basis was there, and man's thought upon the things that supremely matter was built upon it. The zenith was reached in the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—the winners in succession of the Tragic prize. They remind us of the

three orders of Greek architecture—the Doric, severe in majesty; the Ionic, full of grace; and the Corinthian, ornate and luxuriant. Their careers, from the birth of Æschylus to the death of Euripides, comprise a period of about 120 years, and during nearly a century they were engaged in the prolific production of tragedies presented before the whole population of Attica at the solemn religious festivals of Dionysus. Their influence upon the Greek mind was incalculable, and the Greek mind has largely moulded the thought of the world. Of nearly 300 plays attributed to them only 31 survive, and most of these are reckoned among the great master-pieces of literature. It is a far cry from the goat song of the early Dionysian revellers to a tragedy of Æschylus, and a similar development may be traced in the history of the village song which culminated at length in the comedy of Aristophanes. The graver muse expands to include the sovereign themes of destiny. It “reasoned high

Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.”

The lighter muse, its laughter-loving twin, comprises in its growth to maturity the humour and the irony, which make supportable the burden of man's life.

Æschylus won no fewer than thirteen first prizes in the tragic competitions, the last of these, three years before he died, with the famous trilogy that fortunately has survived the changes and chances of fickle time. This includes the “Agamemnon,” universally acclaimed as the greatest triumph of the Greek stage. But any appreciation of Æschylus that is limited by considerations applicable only to dramatic art, would signally fail in justice to one of the master-minds of the human race. It is doubtful whether a power of moral insight of equal

penetration has ever occupied itself with the problems of sin, of providence, of the world, and of man. Sophocles, his younger contemporary, was as an artist probably as great, and one of his plays is considered by Aristotle the master-piece of tragedy. He seems to have been a fascinating character, and was the favourite poet of his countrymen. He won the first prize twenty times. But "the judgment of the world," as Newman said, "is safe," and, accepting that judgment, the premier position is given to-day to the older dramatist. The austere beauty, the sublime grandeur of Æschylus has been preferred to the charm of the man "whose even-balanced soul . . . saw life steadily and saw it whole. The mellow glory of the Attic stage." The third great tragic poet, Euripides, won the prize only five times, although his gifts as a picturesque dramatist, skill as a playwright, and treatment of themes—

Not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food,

ensured him the widest popularity in after years; and eighteen of his tragedies survive to-day.

If the goat song of the vine-dressers had undergone nearly complete metamorphosis in the hands of the tragic poets, the village song, that embodied their lighter reflections on the joy of life, exhibited an almost equally remarkable change when ultimately it took shape in a play of Aristophanes, the greatest of the Greek comedians. The rude banter of bucolic clowns, and their coarse "jokes from a cart," developed into merciless satire, wit, and irony; the bludgeon was exchanged for a rapier, and so sharp was its point, so mordant the sarcasm, that on some occasions the law had to be invoked in restraint of its license, for the protection of innocent victims of attack.

The "glory that was Greece" eventually became absorbed in the "grandeur that was Rome." The land passed under Roman sway. But the conqueror did more than annex the territory of the Greeks. The Latins assimilated with obvious benefit to themselves much of the culture of the vanquished. There is truth in the remark that Greece in turn conquered Rome. In the province of the drama Rome reflected the light derived from the home of Dionysus, but the rays were borrowed and transmitted with a manifest loss of brilliancy. In comparison with the plays of the great Athenians, the Roman efforts were "as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine." The old god came to investigate his unexpected acquisitions, and probably to arrange business matters with Liber, an elderly Italian deity, who had been managing director of vineyard devotions before his arrival, and the deeds of partnership no doubt were signed. He took a senile interest in his new admirers, but it must be confessed that he sadly degenerated with age. Dionysus resembled King Henry VIII. He was handsome in youth, a brilliant personality, but time did more than write wrinkles on his brow, it left scars upon his character. In the early days of melodious vine-dressers, the popular divinity was a friend of all gaiety and joy, but geniality deteriorated into joviality, and in Roman circles his smiling face became mottled and spongy with bibulous excess. Under a secondary name, Bacchus, he shewed more interest in the purple grape when man had crushed it in the wine-press. It was not the cluster on the vine that he cared about, but the bottle in the cellar. He reminds us of stories of dual personality, he was Dr. Jekyll in Athens, but in Rome he was Mr. Hyde. And his sycophantic satyrs declined in respectability with their master. Their goat-like

appearance afforded a true index to their goat-like character and propensities.

The drama was not indigenous in Rome, and attempts to acclimatise it met with only moderate success. Even the great names of Terence and Plautus are insufficient to raise the Roman stage, as a whole, above the level of mediocrity; and the play-going public was not attracted by masterpieces. Spectacular shows and gladiatorial exhibitions were more popular than tragedies or even comedies. And when the Empire became at least nominally, and governmentally, Christian, the arena was denounced with fiercest invective by the Fathers of the Church. Religion administered the *coup de grâce* to theatrical exhibitions. The hands that rocked the cradle of the drama prepared its coffin and dug its grave.

Roman tragedy may be passed over in a brief and cursory review. It contributed nothing to the development of the drama, except that the tragedies of Seneca—written for the library, not for the stage—proved a mine of wealth to the dramatists of the renaissance. But the comedies of Plautus have enriched the repertory of the stage for all time. Like many of the plays of Shakespeare, they were primarily intended for actual production on the boards, and not published as literature until after the author's death. He was a delightful optimist who added to the gaiety of nations. Shakespeare and Molière borrowed the plots of two of his comedies. Plautus himself probably borrowed them elsewhere, as everything was regarded as grist for his mill. There was no finical fear of plagiarism in the literary methods of the genial Roman; no dread of imitation, anachronism, or any of the protean forms of inaccuracy. If the *rechauffé* was palatable, that was

clearly to the credit of the cook. Terence owed as much to the Greeks, or more, than Plautus. He was probably a greater artist, certainly a greater artist in words. If a notable copyist, he was also a famous model. And it is not the stage only that owes him a debt of gratitude. Literature generally acknowledges its obligation. But neither the wit of Plautus nor the grace of Terence could save the Roman drama. Theatrical managers are neither educational authorities nor disinterested philanthropists. They are caterers for the public, providing, if not food convenient, at least the dish that is asked for. If there is an asinine demand for thistles, it is idle or unremunerative to insist on supplying grapes. Beginning as a manifestation of religious emotion and a mode of worship, the drama became successively the handmaid of moral philosophy and the mirror of social life; but in Rome it was an exotic plant, ultimately choked by native weeds, and when, after the real tragedy of the monk Telemachus, the Emperor Honorius suppressed gladiatorial exhibitions, the curtain was rung down, the light extinguished, the box-office closed, the theatre to let. The drama had perished.

Nothing disturbed the quiet sleep of centuries, and then we find history repeating itself with the customary differences. There is a renaissance of the drama, and the new birth, like the old, is due to the influence of religion. Pious hands are busy with the cradle of a resuscitated child. The mediæval church became alive to the educational advantage, when dealing with an illiterate population, of representing Biblical scenes and the legends of the Saints in a dramatic form. Everywhere we find a revival of plays, and the course of the movement in various European countries — France,

Italy, Spain, Germany, and England—was characterised by developments peculiar to the special environment. Much time might be spent upon the consideration of these national variations. The broad outlines of the revival can be indicated, however, with sufficient accuracy for our purpose in a summary sketch.

In the Mystery plays were enacted the scenes of sacred story, from the creation of the world to the last judgment. People became familiar with the history contained in the Bible. The dramatisation of the narrative imparted a vivid reality to occurrences therein described, a verisimilitude otherwise lacking. Personages mentioned in Holy Writ “lived and moved and had their being” in the presence of the spectators. The eye as well as the ear conveyed instruction to the understanding. If “seeing is believing,” there was a further obvious gain in these representations. From a purely religious point of view, however, there was a certain deficiency of doctrinal education in the Mysteries which the Miracle plays made good. The line of demarcation is not always quite clear, but the miracles shewed the practical application of the mysteries in examples of Christian life presented by the Saints. A further development was the Morality play, which was intended to do for morals what the miracles and mysteries had done for religion. In these the virtues suggested for emulation, and the vices held up to opprobrium were personified. They had their exits and their entrances. A visible contest fought out on the stage between virtues and vices in tangible form was more life-like and easier to realise than the actual conflict that goes on invisibly in the moral sphere between dissimilar ideals. Abstract characteristics were embodied in concrete characters. Allegorical representation

sharpened the edge of moral teaching and anticipated by centuries the method of John Bunyan in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The best known of these Morality Plays "Everyman" has been reproduced on the modern stage. It attracted a considerable amount of attention, but has not proved the precursor of any general revival of this form of dramatic composition. Its charm for the majority of its professed admirers seems to have been largely of an esoteric character. A somewhat insipid flavour of novelty was heightened by the reflection that capacity for the enjoyment of "Everyman" bore witness to some moral or intellectual distinction in days given over to a sordid realism. But this production like all morality plays suffered from want of intimate relationship with the facts of life. It is difficult to awaken vigorous sympathy with the good or evil fortunes of abstract ideas, or nebulous personifications of moral conceptions. The pallid shadows might fume and fret during their hour upon the stage, but could not arouse in the audience any poignant emotion. They lacked vitality, they were not of flesh and blood. An improvement in the morality play was effected when real characters were occasionally introduced. The decline in artistic perfection was more than compensated by natural interest taken in the sayings and doings of a real man. It was easier to follow with sympathy the fortunes, for example, of Brutus the patriot, than the adventures of abstract patriotism personified for the immediate occasion. And incidentally the way was prepared for dealing more frankly and definitively with the actual circumstances of life. By this time the influence of the Renaissance had begun to be felt in every department of moral and intellectual activity. This was a movement secular in origin, and, among other things, it led gradually to the complete secularisation

of the Drama. The child of Ecclesiastical parentage like many a promising youth abandoned the shelter of home in search of a larger freedom in the wide world. In 1551 appeared the first English comedy, "Ralph Roister Doister," by Nicholas Udall, and even the most enlightened dignitary of the Church would have found some difficulty in recognising any traits of family resemblance to its monastic ancestry. Eleven years later Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville produced "Gorboduc," the first English tragedy. It showed that even the serious side of the Drama was emancipated from any strikingly obvious Ecclesiastical bias or tradition. The stage had passed from the control of the Church into the hands of the World. Plays henceforth are chapters of human experience rather than lessons in morality or religion. Fourteen years after the appearance of the first English tragedy, the first English theatre was opened at Blackfriars. Shakespeare was then a boy of twelve years old, not yet released from his studies at the Stratford Grammar School. He was still acquiring the "little Latin and less Greek" that his friend, Ben Jonson, remarked upon in after days when perhaps the sinister influence of the green eyed monster had sharpened his critical faculty. Among the diversions of his childhood are probably to be reckoned the performances of companies of strolling players who visited Stratford. Such players were often the servants or retainers of some nobleman, and it is recorded that the poet's father, when bailiff of Stratford, entertained among others the Earl of Worcester's company of actors. It is quite possible that when Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth the boy Shakespeare may have witnessed the theatrical exhibitions which formed part of the festivities. In early manhood he left Stratford to become henceforth associated with the London stage. Aubrey tells us that he was "inclined

naturally to poetry and acting," that he was "an actor at one of the play-houses, and did act exceedingly well." Shakespeare is the standing refutation of the popular and comforting theory that genius is incompatible with business acumen and common sense. He did exceedingly well in more ways than one, and the bulk of what are called, in a spirit of irony, materials for the life of Shakespeare, are records of business transactions. "There is a tide he tells us in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune," and the career of Shakespeare as actor, manager and theatre proprietor, illustrates the truth of the observation. Plays were popular at the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and he frequently performed in the Royal presence. According to tradition, it was at the Queen's request that he wrote "The Merry Wives of Windsor" to gratify her by the spectacle of Sir John Falstaff in love. In 1594 the Globe theatre was built for him. In the course of about 20 years he wrote 36 plays. He was the central figure of a remarkable group. Clustered around him was a galaxy of dramatic stars. If to-day their light shines dimly, it is because that radiance pales in the glow of Shakespeare. In popular estimation it is a case of "Eclipse first and the rest nowhere." This is hardly fair to the memory of the sparkling throng; the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama would have been great had Shakespeare never lived. In the story of the drama, chapters are deserved for Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher, and paragraphs for a score of others who made that period the most brilliant in the annals of the stage.

History repeated itself in the course of the evolution of the Drama, not only in the circumstance of its second derivation from a religious origin, but also in the trend of its development, and the influences operative in its decay.

We see in the growth of the Shakespearian stage a progress analogous to the process previously observed in the theatre of the Greeks. The old religious worship of the primitive Dionysian Harvest Festival broadened in the power of genius into a profound meditation upon the deepest problems of life and destiny. The simple elements of religion were seminal, and from the seed arose the majestic tragedy of Aeschylus and his successors. New wine of a richer vintage was poured out as a libation to the god. In like manner we see in Shakespeare at his zenith the culmination of a similar process of evolution. The early Mediaeval Miracle or Mystery has become a miracle indeed, a mystery of revelation by the time we arrive at Shakespeare. If Bacon took all knowledge to be his province, his great contemporary took all wisdom to be his estate. He was not a religious writer in the sense used of the primitive authors of the original choral hymns, or in the technical meaning applicable to the compilers of Ecclesiastical plays; but he was a religious writer after the pattern of Aeschylus, including in his survey of man the spiritual sphere in its widest aspect. He reckoned nothing human foreign or strange to him. It would, however, be colossal presumption to attempt an appreciation of Shakespeare in a paper merely intended to trace in brief outline the course of dramatic evolution. I shall not essay the impossible task. He stands at the summit of the second great development of the drama, just as Aeschylus stands at the summit of the first. In each case we ascend from the valley where in appropriate humility religion holds its court, for "He that is down needs fear no fall, he that is low no pride," and we reach at length the glittering peak of man's effort to solve the mystery of his destiny, and then we descend to the earth, our habitation.

The classical drama born of religion perished at the

hands of religion. The stage or arena having ceased to be a moral or regenerative influence in human life, became an obstacle and a hindrance to the highest welfare of man. *Corruptio optimi pessima*, and Christianity swept it away. Towards the end of Shakespeare's career there were growing indications of a similar tendency, there was a revolt in the religious world against the influence of the stage. Puritanism was increasing in power, and London, the centre of the theatrical world, was the stronghold of Puritanism. The secularised drama was anathema to the men who, in the next generation, brought down in ruins the Court, the Church, and the Constitution. Shakespeare heard the mutterings of the coming storm, and his antipathy to the Puritans finds frequent expression in his plays. It became evident that the days of the stage were numbered, the tidal wave of dramatic success had begun to ebb before the death of the poet, and by the time that the First Folio was printed at the close of the reign of James I., acting was dying out. In 1642, twenty-six years after the death of Shakespeare, the theatres were closed by order of Parliament. Indirectly, we probably owe to the Puritan movement the publication in a permanent form of the plays of Shakespeare. With the decay of the theatre, dramatic compositions declined in value, and it seemed probable that, with the extinction of acting, oblivion would overtake the plays. But there were things in the writings of Shakespeare that his friends and contemporaries would not willingly let die. In a printed form they might find a new public—a reading public. Plays previously published singly in quarto, and a considerable number that existed only in manuscript, were collected and included in the folio edition. It is supposed that 500 copies were printed, and they were sold at a pound a copy. "It is difficult," says Mr. Sidney Lee, "to

estimate how many copies survive of the First Folio, which is intrinsically the most valuable volume in the whole range of English literature."

During the Commonwealth the Drama was dead. Just as night settled upon the classical stage after the fulminations of the Fathers of the Church, so darkness reigned in theatrical circles after the fierce invectives of the Puritan divines. Once more religion, that watched over the cradle of the drama, prepared its coffin and dug its grave. At the restoration of King Charles II. there was a general reaction against the Puritan ascendancy, and whatever was hateful to the discredited saints, was sure of applause. Their hostility to the stage became a powerful argument in its favour. There was a rapid swing of the pendulum, and the stage of the Merrie Monarch justified the worst opinions of its enemies. Thomas Carlyle, somewhere, comments on the extraordinary stride that music has taken from a psalm of Asaph to a modern opera, but this is nothing in comparison with the gulf that separates the goat song of Dionysus or the miracle play of the mediaeval Churchman from the drama of the restoration. The theatre has not quite recovered from the effects of the degradation of that time. Even in recent years when the Church and Stage guild was formed—a circumstance which, in view of the history of the drama, might have seemed eminently reasonable—much surprise and not a little indignation was exhibited at the sight of the union of these supposed incompatibilities, unequally yoked together to the grave scandal of many good people. This arose not so much from any fear of present infection as from recollection of an ancestral taint. The Dramatists of the Restoration have become a byword, and most of their plays have been put on the public Index Expurgatorius. But the heart of England was sound, and

the common sense of Englishmen soon revolted at the spectacle of the orgy of licentiousness presented by the restoration stage. A reaction set in, and sobriety was attained. It is conceivable that there might have been a revival of the Elizabethan drama had not other forces been at work in literature, which on grounds independent of any question of morals, made such a revival impossible, and the stage never regained its old ascendancy. Influences were in operation which militated against the enjoyment of the Shakespearian muse. The age of the great Dramatist was a time of exuberant life and gay enthusiasm. Alexander wept because there were no other worlds to conquer, but the men of the sixteenth century and a generation after, laughed with joy because there were so many. The pioneers of the Renaissance, like some witch of Endor, had summoned from its grave the world of Classical Antiquity. Columbus and his successors led the adventurous to a world beyond the sun that set in Western seas. Astronomy drew the curtain that hid the mysteries of the Stellar spaces. Everywhere new worlds arose waiting for their Alexander. Men were crossing Jordan into lands that flowed with milk and honey. And Shakespeare reflects the exaltation of the time. But we were now in the days of the late Stuarts, on the verge of the Age of Taste. Discovery and consequent jubilation were giving place to criticism and sang froid. Taste is admirable, but seldom exuberant. Its propriety rarely atones for its tameness and conventionality. As the eighteenth century advanced, at first tragedy and afterwards comedy declined. The prosaical mind rebelled against the heroics of the Tragic muse, and found relaxation in forms of entertainment less graceful than Comedy. Othello was out of place in a society that found its Petronius arbiter in a Lord Chesterfield. The amours of a black man as our young

men of to-day would say, were the "limit." And what could a person of taste make of a man of title addicted to sack? Sir John Falstaff, with his rubicund face and coarse joviality, was certainly better suited for Mistress Quickly's rather disreputable inn, than for a coffee house frequented by gallants and wits in wigs and ruffles. Elizabethan poetry seemed as gothic to authors of verse of the shepherd and shepherdess variety, as the pointed style in architecture appeared to admirers of the Italian school. Moreover, the mind of the nation no longer found expression chiefly in plays. The theatre was one element, one only, and that a diminishing one in the intellectual life of the nation. Among the factors that contributed to the decay of the theatre was the rise of the novel. Marion Crawford has described the novel as a "pocket theatre." Here were pictures of life in fulness of detail relieving the imagination from the onerous duty of creating an atmosphere, supplying the background, or filling in from subjective sources what could not very well be represented on the stage. On the other hand the novel permitted a certain exercise of the fancy, which is imagination in its lowest form. And moreover the practical advantage of a portable theatre was undeniably great. The dramatic instinct could be soothed or excited in the privacy of a country cottage. A packet of tablets or tabloids is more convenient for personal transport than the contents of a chemist's establishment. In a recent issue of "Punch," a writer contrasts the merits of a doctor with the demerits of a dentist, the doctor comes to you, but you have to go to the dentist. It makes a considerable difference. Drury Lane or the Repertory implies a journey. Vanity Fair or Pickwick can be enjoyed at home. And this leads us to consider a matter of importance in any account of the evolution of the drama. A play when read as literature involves a much

greater demand upon the close attention of the reader than a play performed on the stage requires of the spectator. The reader must supply from his own resources everything except the dialogue. His gain from the perusal will depend largely upon the quality of his own contribution of knowledge or imagination. And this remark applies with far more cogency to the study of ancient drama than it does to the reading of modern plays. An audience to-day sits in close proximity to the stage. Everything that happens can be seen or heard with ease. The building is comparatively moderate in size, and its acoustic properties are as perfect as possible. The play reproduces with fidelity scenes of life and action in a most natural way. We are present at the unfolding of the tapestry. We witness the evolution of circumstances. We hear the observations of persons involved in the train of events. All the resources of stage management are employed in producing an impression of reality. Sometimes the effort is overdone, and we are invited to marvel at the introduction of real dogs and real horses, or reminded that real water flows in the bed of the scenic river. How different was the theatre of the Greeks! A semi-circle of seats raised tier above tier under the open sky, an audience of between 20,000 and 30,000 people, a narrow platform built against a wall, two or three actors wearing masks and wigs, made up to resemble supermen, or sons of Anak, by various artifices, standing on the platform, the chorus arranged on the level floor between them and the spectators, a series of tableaux vivants, an alternation of impressive speech with choral music and the dance, a religious ceremony, an imposing although simple ritual, a majestic function. All is poetry in action, measured and stately. The whole conception of the Drama is remote from the ideas of it which prevail to-day.

When the theatre revived under Ecclesiastical auspices in the middle ages, it retained some of the external characteristics that belonged to it in classical times, but shorn of their grandeur. A platform was required for the actors with some kind of background, a wall or screen, upon which could be indicated pictorially, or by legend, the nature of the supposed surroundings, whether a wood, or a castle, a palace, or the village green, and space for the accommodation of the audience. The strolling players found the courtyards of public hostleries very suitable for their purpose. A rude platform could be set up in the middle, and the audience stood in front or looked down from the galleries surrounding the yard. The early theatres reproduced many of the features of these improvised places of entertainment. A sketch made of a London theatre in Shakespeare's day by a Dutch visitor to the Metropolis shews a semi-circular space enclosed with tiers of seats corresponding with the gallery of an inn, a raised platform, and a sort of roofed-in chamber at the back of it supported on pillars. Most of the audience stood in the space on three sides of the elevated stage, some found seats in the gallery, and a few were accommodated on the stage itself. It has been urged in recent years that the educative influence of the drama would be much increased if a return were made to these conditions of primitive simplicity. More scope would be left to the imagination, more attention paid to the intellectual contents of the play. The dramatist would take precedence of the upholsterer in popular regard, and perhaps the problem of a national theatre solved by elimination of the preliminary difficulty of expense. An oval enclosure roofed in out of deference to the whims of our climate, a supply of forms or benches as a concession to modern habits of luxury, a wooden screen at the back of the stage, might while free

from servile imitation, convey cultural suggestion of the arrangements of classical antiquity. Very few other material accessories would be necessary, and the audience freed from external distractions would be able to concentrate its thought upon the play.

Of late years we have seen a revival of the drama, and there are not wanting prophets of its future triumph at the expense of the novel. The conviction appears to be grounded upon that tendency in human nature which encouraged the early popularity of novels. It was unnecessary to wonder or even to think, everything was done for you. All that was asked of you was that you should keep steadily in view the rows or lines of printed words, you skimmed the thrilling page, it was like a joy ride in a motor car. All kinds of things passed you, and if you missed them, it did not matter; you might skip pages or chapters, and no harm was done. The new play seems to promise an even greater freedom from trouble. A conscientious reader when he skips, is troubled with a sensation of shame, he sometimes fights against the temptation and cuts his way through the tangled forest. He pursues his way resolutely on, although the goal of his weary journey is manifest from the starting place. Bacon's advice about reading, "some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed," is rejected by some people on moral grounds. I have known persons of a sensitive conscience who have read even the introductions, notes, and appendices to the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Some make a fetish of duty! Now the new play as produced with elaborate material accessories on the modern stage is as good as "Magna Charta." It secures our liberty. There are no wearisome descriptions of scenery, the Alps are before you, on the canvas in front. There are no long winded specifications of the details of

the hero's immediate surroundings. You see them at a glance,—the table, sofa, chairs, and the ancestral portraits flat upon the quivering calico walls. There are no tedious attempts at cataloguing the points of the hero or the charms of the heroine, they burst suddenly upon the ravished sight of the spectator, as Pallas sprang from the head of Zeus. You have nothing to do but sit on velvet and consume your caramels, you have not even to turn the leaves of a book. The problem for lovers of the stage is whether the recent signs of a revival of interest in plays indicate the dawn of another great period of dramatic development, or the last flicker of vanishing light before its extinction. Will the verdict be "Out, out, brief candle?" It is thought by some people that we are again approaching the end of a dramatic dispensation; that the mystic words of fate are becoming luminous on the wall; that as the classical drama died out, and the Shakespearian theatre was closed, so the days of the modern stage are numbered. The Cinema play will take its place. The picture play is a curious blend of the drama and the novel. It is full of visible movement and it tells a tale, but it is a play without actors and a story without sentences. One is reminded of Mendelssohn's Songs without Words. It is full of illustrations to charm the eye, and there is no letter-press to fatigue the understanding. It may probably affect the future of the drama much in the same way that the novel affected it. It is the provision of an alternative amusement and method of instruction capable of rendering some of the services for which hitherto we have been dependent upon the pages of fiction and the productions of the stage. But it may be questioned whether the photographic representation of things apparent, however realistic, can permanently replace the drama in which we see humanity, clothed in flesh and blood, exhibiting before

our eyes the myriad phases of life, its trouble and its joy, with a verisimilitude that no mechanical art can counterfeit, crowding into our few brief hours of leisure a condensed impression of the strange eventful history of Man, and the sum of all human experience.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF NOVELS.

BY WILLIAM E. SIMS, A.K.C., F.Ph.S.,

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I REMEMBER reading when I was a boy Todd's Students' Manual, a work that enjoyed a considerable vogue in those far-off days, but has long ago passed through the casual ward of the second-hand booksellers' out-of-doors box into the realm of the bats and owls. What I chiefly recollect of its contents is an onslaught made by the Author on novels, novel readers and novel writers, in which even the great Sir Walter came in for severe castigation. This attack gave an unpleasant shock to a youth who had fallen under the spell of the wizard of the North, and had been reading in rapid succession most of the Waverley Novels. As far as I can trust a fading memory of the Censor's objection to the most popular form of modern literature, it was largely based upon a supposed antithesis between truth and fiction. Great is truth and it must prevail, but the prospects of its immediate prevalence are thought to be endangered by a taste for fiction. The notion arises from the fallacy of supposing that fiction and falsehood are convertible terms, so that a work of fiction is a work of falsehood, and presumably derivable therefore from a dubious and sinister source of inspiration. Truth is no doubt opposed to falsehood, but finds herself often indebted to fiction in the prosecution of her warfare against various forms of unveracity. The story is told of Walpole, that lying on a bed of sickness, he wearily said to his attendant, "Don't read history to me, for that I know must be false, read fiction, for that may be true." Another

objection alleged against the habit of reading novels is the enfeebling effect of their perusal upon the mind. They are read merely for the pleasure of the process with no intention of retaining their contents in recollection; they are like water that runs to waste instead of being conducted into suitable reservoirs for future use. This generates a fatal habit of inattention, the foe of that mental concentration, without which we lose the fruits of our reading. It is a case of "lightly come and lightly go," for what we do not read to remember we are not likely to bear in mind. Masses of printed matter are scampered through with bewildering celerity and immediately forgotten. Miles of type are skimmed in cursory fashion just as miles of landscape are glanced at by the hurried motorist. It is reported that many subscribers to circulating libraries get through a novel a day. The sequel is an impenetrable intellectual fog, a sort of ignorant haze, in which loom distorted phantoms, indeterminate shadows, and vague nebulosities akin to the creation of dreams. Eventually, the novel reader like the dram drinker, a victim of pernicious excess, becomes incapable of any sustained mental effort. His mind has burnt itself out; he is the mere cinder of an intellectuality. "If I had read as much as you have, (remarked Schopenhauer to an over-read individual), I should be as big a fool as you are." But not only does novel reading produce an enfeebling effect mentally, its disastrous consequences are even more lamentably obvious in a yet higher sphere. Its effect is enfeebling morally. There is an admitted danger in playing with the emotions, in awakening sympathies that begin and end in purely subjective impressions,—that lead to no corresponding activities. Fiction provides an incessant stimulus for feelings that can find no relief in appropriate exercise. Emotions of pity, hope, anxiety, grief and terror are

aroused in the interest of imaginary characters, and under circumstances of voluntary illusion. We enter with willing feet a Fool's paradise, or an Imbecile's inferno, and revel or suffer in a domain of conscious unreality. Our ordinary life may be trivial and prosaic in the extreme, but we escape into a land of enchantment, and yield ourselves to the sorcery of unaccustomed experiences. The every-day world by comparison seems flat and tame. The simple annals of the poor move us no longer. The common round becomes a treadmill, the daily task a drudgery. Our capacity for sympathy with real suffering is weakened. Our compassion is not excited by the humdrum miseries of real life. We have dined at an epicure's table, and our dainty appetite loathes the light food provided for our consumption by divine wisdom in the desert of actuality, the manna that lies around the tent on the pilgrim's way to a better country. Nevertheless, it is to be feared that people in search of pleasurable sensations and not addicted to philosophical thought, are unlikely to be deterred from seeking relaxation in novels by any fear of the apparently remote contingencies of mental or moral enfeeblement. They are probably apt rather to be influenced by the suggestion that novel reading is a waste of time. This indicates a point of view which commends itself more naturally to that ubiquitous person, the plain practical man. A man of business is presumably in favour of a profitable expenditure of the hours at our disposal. He is constitutionally opposed at least in theory to the encouragement of idleness. He lends a ready ear to denunciations of Free Library loafers, who are alleged to spend their golden prime in pursuit of literary joys in public institutions kept up by the rates. He listens with approval to severe criticism of ladies reclining on sofas, who cultivate physical and mental anæmia by

immersion in the thrilling, if incredible, pages of the latest rechauffè of the perennial story of Edwin and Angelina. He is even more gravely censorious of the maid in the kitchen, who snatches a fearful joy by illicit perusal of penny novelettes, artfully concealed in table drawers ostensibly devoted to the knives and forks of the establishment. Abstract theories of truth and falsehood in the Author's craft, dangers of ultimate mental deterioration, a risk of sapping the springs of moral endeavour, leave the average man cold, like Gallio he "cares for none of these things." But the argument that novel reading involves a serious waste of time is received with respect, and helps to confirm a secret antipathy to books in general.

But "things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be." The novel has come to stay. It is a matter of academic interest to discuss what people ought to read. It is a matter of practical importance to consider what they actually do read. I gather from statistics of public libraries that, whereas only 20 per cent. of the books bought and shelved are novels, they form 80 per cent. of the volumes read. Four out of five borrowers standing at the counter are jostling elbows for the loan of the one available novel. The fifth borrower, a superior person, in lonely dignity, meditates his choice from four works of high-class literature. If, as Newman said, "The judgment of the world is safe," the position of the novel seems assured. It may be as well now to glance at its history. The novel is generally regarded as one of the latest arrivals in the world of books,—a product of the 18th century. This is true from the librarian or bookseller's point of view. These gentlemen would be astonished by an application for a list of novels in stock belonging to the 17th or earlier centuries. They would gently hint at the date of Fielding and Richardson. But

the novel is really the last link in a long chain of evolution. For its genesis we must go back to the childhood of the world. Just as the child in the nursery says, "Tell me a story," so we find in the nursery of our race an appreciation of that form of literature. Indeed, unless we limit the word to written compositions, stories were popular long before any literature existed. Among the earliest forms of the author's craft are to be found tales that originally were orally communicated, such no doubt were the poems of Homer. Other stories of primitive antiquity familiar to-day are the book of *Ruth* and the fables of *Aesop*. Less well known, though of later date, is the collection of romances, entitled the *Aethiopica of Heliodorus*. Most of the parables of the New Testament are brief tales, not necessarily associated with actual occurrences, and their adoption as a mode of instruction bears witness to the readiness with which the majority of people listen to truth in the form of a story. We might multiply examples derived from all ages, but it will be sufficient to mark the most important stages of the progress to the modern novel. Passing over a multitude of monkish tales, etc., we come to the famous *Romance of the Rose* at the end of the 13th Century, and the *Decameron* of Boccaccio a few years later, one of the sources, as all remember, of some of the plays of Shakespeare. More nearly resembling a modern novel in length as well as construction, were the immortal *Don Quixote*, published in 1605, and *Gil Blas*, which appeared in 1715. From these the passage to *Robinson Crusoe* is easy, the herald of the advent of the genuine novel. We might have come, had we chosen, another way, and traced through Stuart times indications of a similar, if more obscure development, reaching via John Bunyan and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, the same goal at last. The Eighteenth century has come in for a good deal of criticism

and even abuse, from many quarters, but even Thomas Carlyle would admit that it gave us the novel, achieving a feat that he himself once essayed, but in vain. The value of the gift will, of course, be appraised in accordance with our estimate of the worth or worthlessness of fiction. It is usual to regard the Eighteenth Century novelists as prentice hands making experiments with a new material. Their interest with that anomalous entity the reading public, has acquired an historical flavour. They are thought of by many as chiefly preparatory to Jane Austen and Scott. We pass them on the stairs on our way up to the Presence Chamber. With a few important exceptions, the novels they published are not read as much as the lives of the writers. They are less the pabulum of the novel reader than of the literary student. Fielding's *Tom Jones*, which has been described as the greatest novel ever written, has its readers to-day, so has Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*. Admirers of Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* are to be found, chiefly in cultured circles, but who reads now the little printer, Richardson? or the once popular Tobias Smollett?, yet these are among the most famous novelists of that century. There are crowds of others forming a kind of milky way in the dark firmament, but hardly distinguishable individually. If the greater lights grow dim, the lesser ones very naturally pale their ineffectual fires. Even the most inveterate enemy of the novel-reading habit would not waste powder and shot on these phantoms of the past. I don't think that even Todd of the Student's Manual vexed his righteous soul about these sinners, he reserved his artillery for Scott. The author of *Waverley* really began the mischief. He was the first of the great novelists, and in some respects the greatest of them all. He set the snowball rolling that has now acquired such giant

proportions, threatening the world with that avalanche of evils, to which previous reference has been made, the waste of time, the love of falsehood, the moral and mental enfeeblement of misguided generations who have perverted the noble gift of Cadmus of Thebes to their own undoing.

And yet there are competent critics who regard Sir Walter not as the first, but as the last of the great novelists. So far from being a pioneer, he brings up the tail of the procession. Mr. Clement Shorter, for example, says that "Any comparison of the novels of the Victorian Era with the novels of the Georgian period must be very much to the disadvantage of the former. The great Epoch of English fiction began with Goldsmith and Richardson, and ended with Sir Walter Scott." Most readers, however, would be of opinion that the real dividing line between the novel of the Eighteenth century type and the more modern variety, associated with the period of Queen Victoria, is to be found not in the transition from Georgian to Victorian times, but in the French revolution, which gave an immense impulse to romanticism, and effected a profound change, both in poetry and in prose. Jane Austen and Walter Scott are post-revolution writers, and it seems more natural to regard them as ushering in the dawn of a new era, than as marking the sunset of an old. Jane Austen indeed stands apart in a kind of Melchizedekian loneliness, but Scott prepared the way for Bulwer Lytton, and then came a galaxy, the Brontë sisters, Dickens, Thackeray, Reade, Trollope, the two Kingsleys, Stevenson, Meredith, Hardy, and a host of stars of lesser magnitude. Names that seem difficult to reconcile with the dictum of Mr. Shorter that they suffer by comparison with the novelists of a previous age. They conjure up certainly a multitude of fascinating works of fiction and a populous

world of characters, among whom we feel almost as much at home as in the society of our familiar friends and acquaintances in our customary daily haunts. If we are to regard the invisible host as evil demons drawn from the vasty deep to steal our fleeting hours, undermine our reverence for truth, and compass our mental and moral enfeeblement, then it must be confessed that their subtlety equals their charm, and their disguise is perfect, for they appear to us clad in the yesture of light, and to purify our world of their presence would mean the impoverishment of our life. I shall venture to say that whatever calamities accrue from the abuse of novels, they are just as liable to ensue from a similar abuse of any other form of literature. I am not sure that magazines and newspapers are not worse offenders, although to be sure, two wrongs can never make a right. It is difficult to be positive that even graver works, improving volumes, standard works,—the books that no gentleman's library ought to be without,—works that librarians actually buy and shelve, and do not merely borrow from Mudies, ought not to be placed in the dock along with the novel when the charge of promoting moral, if not mental enfeeblement, comes to be heard. I shall venture to say not only that the abuse of novels cannot be proved to be more deleterious than the abuse of any other form of literary recreation—that would be merely negative—but that the use of novels forms a most desirable and necessary part of our education. If as Alexander Pope says, "the proper study of mankind is man," it may be urged that many novels materially assist in this study by presenting us with transcripts of life. After all we have to deal with an accomplished fact, as I remarked at the outset the novel has come to stay. Can anything be said in its defence, why judgment should not be passed upon it? Well, if any kind of recreation at all is permissible, it

seems possible to put in a plea for the novel. To read a well written novel is at least an intellectual form of amusement. It makes some sort of appeal, however slender to the mind. From a mental, if not a moral point of view, the reader is at the lowest estimate quite as well occupied as the card player immersed in the lonely mysteries of patience. I am not sure that he could not maintain his position in the face of votaries of diabolio, shuttlecock, skittles, or even, we speak with bated breath, of the devotees of golf. Novel reading seems to be an intelligent kind of misdemeanour, tending to enlarge rather than narrow one's conceptions of the infinite variety of life.

Then it is not only an intellectual form of amusement in general, but has certain particular merits. It is the poor man's substitute for travel. In the pages of the novel he journeys without money and without price. Sitting in the ingle nook by the domestic hearth his mind ranges over the fairest scenes in the wide world. It is difficult for most of us thoroughly to explore our own country, but we ramble through Scotland in the company of Scott, we traverse Ireland with Miss Edgeworth, George Eliot guides us through the Midlands, Kingsley reveals the secrets of the fen country, we travel with Baring Gould in Devonshire, and we are initiated into the mysteries of Wessex by Thomas Hardy. These are but prominent examples, every novel reader can multiply them *ad infinitum*. And there is a peculiar advantage in this sort of travelling that is lacking to the mere occupant of a motor car. We see these places through remarkably observant eyes. We look at the things worth looking at. We breathe the very atmosphere of the places we visit as though we were natives of the regions thus traversed in imagination. You know London if you take a cab from Euston. You know London much better if you read *Oliver Twist*. But Great

Britain, notwithstanding the adjective, is a small place. It was something for Dr. Johnson to visit the Hebrides. He was a traveller. We should not call him a traveller now. We restrict the word to wanderers farther afield. But very few Cook's Tourists are as well circumstanced as the reader in the Ingle nook. He rambles afar and sees all sorts and conditions of men in all kinds of places. He is familiar with types of life and character widely dissimilar, and knows his atlas as well as his Bible. What storms he weathered with Captain Marryatt, how well he understands the sailor's thought as he gazes across the wide Pacific, the billowy Atlantic. What days, too, he spent on the prairies with Mayne Reid, and among the Indians with Fenimore Cooper. And what experiences he enjoyed or suffered among the gold diggers with Charles Reid. He knows his world as well as an Eton boy knows his Latin grammar. It is idle to tell me that the study of Geography yields similar fruit,—the fruit is not ripe and luscious,—we merely look at diagrams of apples and pears, the emotions are not stirred, the sympathies are not enlisted, there is a lack of verisimilitude, there is no adequate realisation. We have lived in India with Kipling, in the Australian bush with Boldrewood, among the Russians in their dreary undulating plains with Tolstoi. We are citizens of the World—Freemen of the Universe.

And herein is surely a marvel, the novel reader can travel in time as easily as he journeys in space. Mr. Wells amused us with the description of a time machine, you were like a passenger on the railway, you got into a carriage and were whisked away through the centuries, you alighted not where but when you would. Here the novel reader has a decided advantage over the mere globe-trotter. He picks up Eber's novels and finds himself in the days of the Ptolemies, even of Moses. He meets Moses

himself in Egypt. The Pharaohs are nodding acquaintances. Later on he is there at the murder of Hypatia, and hears the sanguinary blasphemy of the mob. His emotions have been stirred by the sight of Whyte Melville's Gladiators "Those about to die salute thee!" He saw with shuddering horror the last days of Pompeii. Indeed, there is no great period, there is hardly a great event with which he is not acquainted,—not as a dry fact recorded in history, but as an actual living experience in which the fates of many of his personal friends were involved. He is like the Wandering Jew, independent of the trammels of time. He is like Zanoni. Bacon said that all knowledge was his province. The novel reader with more justice can say that all time is his province. Can you get this intimate fellowship from history? Gibbon may help you. Macaulay may be of some assistance, but the ordinary Historian? No!—History gives you the skeleton, the dry bones in the valley—the novelist breathes upon these slain, and they live! It has been said that fiction is falsehood. Its materials are figments, not facts. Facts are impressive, so are brickbats. Wendell Holmes complains very justly of the man who will upset a whole freight-train of pleasant conversation with some miserable fact. Atmosphere is quite as important as mere bald facts. You can verify this by comparing a Turner with a photograph. The sun is something like George Washington, it cannot tell a lie; on the plate or film in your camera is registered the absolute truth. Is it? Ask any lady present. You saw the subject of the photograph, you have seen the reproduction. Are they alike? Are chalk and cheese alike? How often old King Sol must laugh in his sleeve. Sitting in our Ingle nook we read Lytton's *Harold* or *Rienzi*, Scott's *Ivanhoe* or *Quentin Durward*, Thackeray's *Esmond*, Dicken's *Tale of Two Cities*, Austen's tales of early nineteenth century

life, Are we sure of the facts? Why, some of the dates are wrong. There are gross anachronisms, Macaulay's schoolboy—who knew everything, would make merry with the facts. Any prig with a primer could knock them over like skittles. No, we are not sure of the facts, but we are quite certain about the atmosphere. We cannot pass the novel off as a photograph, but we can put it along with our Turners. It is fiction, but profoundly true. Truth is stranger than fiction, and fiction is sometimes more reliable than truth. This sounds paradoxical, but most things worth saying at all are paradoxical. We learn much of the world and much of the past from novels, but of even more practical utility perhaps are the lessons they teach us about human nature, the human nature of to-day. "I am a man," said a wise ancient, "I regard nothing human as foreign to me." But a great deal of human nature would be extremely strange to us if we never read a novel. We belong to various social circles, we have our friends who understand us, we have our acquaintances who possess some superficial knowledge of our whereabouts in the general scheme of things. But, there are very few people whose social range is not limited, inconveniently limited, for those who wish to take a wide view of humanity. We are rather like horses in blinkers, we can see what is in front of us on our journey, but miss a good deal of the surrounding country. Novels introduce us to a wide circle of acquaintances drawn from all ranks and classes of the community, and incidentally there is the advantage that we can have as much or as little of their society as we will. We are not storing up for ourselves a huge debit balance of friendly obligations; our friends of fiction make no claim upon us. And what an enormous addition they make to our knowledge of human nature. Many of our social difficulties arise from want of sympathy, due to lack of

knowledge. We live in a rut, we are not favoured with the confidences of kings, dukes, duchesses, warriors, statesmen, organ grinders, bargees, cowboys, cabin boys, Red Indians, Hottentots, and philosophers, but we know them all in the pages of our author. What a reception we can hold in any back parlour on the hearthrug. How they troop in, all the multitudinous personages in the galleries of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray—and all on such excellent terms with us, so engagingly familiar, so delightfully naive, so charmingly candid, telling us all their secret thoughts, wishes, and aspirations, and ready to go at a moment's notice if we tire of their company. *Hey presto*, the covers are closed, the book restored to its shelf, the crowd dispersed. A moment ago we saw them all acting, moving, talking in their proper dress and environment; now they have gone leaving us a thousand memories to enrich our conception of the immense variety of life, the enormous range of its hopes, ambitions, joys and sorrows. How much poorer we should be, cribbed, cabin'd, and confined within the narrow circle of our own immediate, actual friends and neighbours. Then a great novelist is a translator of difficult passages of life and nature for the benefit of the ordinary mind. He shows us how character is formed, how men grow from good to better, or bad to worse. He puts into our hands a magnifying glass wherewith to examine human nature. We watch the painter at work and appreciate the thousand deft touches that bring out the light and shade of the picture. We gaze at the sculptor transforming a shapeless block of marble into a thing of beauty and a joy for ever. The actual study of human life is a slow business and fraught with difficulty. We observe actions, but speculate idly about motives. The novelist draws the veil aside and reveals the hidden springs of action, the secret thoughts. We learn

how people think and feel as well as act. We study not only objective phenomena, but possess the key to their subjective causation. One often wonders what life was like before the introduction of the novel. The mental furnishing of the ordinary individual must have been so meagre. His horizon was so very near. His outlook so limited. The novelists have been the Keplers, Copernicus's and Newtons of the average student of human nature, revealing stellar spaces, reducing our local habitation and current interests to their just proportions.

Marion Crawford described the novel as "a Pocket Theatre," we can carry it with us, scenery, characters, and all, a Drury Lane in miniature. All the world's a stage, and our stage fits neatly into a side pocket. Thackeray put the puppets of *Vanity Fair* back into the box, we can get them into smaller space. *Vanity Fair* itself hardly destroys the symmetry of a dress suit. We think of Pascal's wonderful chapter on the infinitely great and the infinitely little. It is wonderful how much we can carry if not in our heads, at least in our pockets—the great world and all its thought, action and emotion in homeopathic compass.

It is said sometimes that the novel is played out, that the rich mine is spent, that we are at the end of the vein. Everything has been done, everything has been dealt with. We sympathise with Alexander, who wept because there were no fresh worlds to conquer. All the fields are exhausted, and unless we can look for some development of intensive cultivation there is nothing left for the future. We have discovered the Poles of fiction, been to the city of the Lama's, plumbed the deepest seas, explored the forests, tracked the rivers to their sources. Nothing remains but to do the same things over again, revisit the old familiar places, hash the cold joint. Vanity of Vanities, there is nothing new under the sun. Glancing

round a library one sees every kind of novel—Historical novel, which make the past live, Novels Geographical and novels of adventure, which strip the veil of illusion from the face of the world, Society novels, laying bare the mysteries of every stratum of artificial classification. There are novels with a purpose—Dickens on Yorkshire Schools, and the Court of Chancery, tilting at abuses; Kingsley on Chartism and the rights and wrongs of the people. Then there are such as Disraeli on Politics contemplated from an author's desk, and seen in a serener atmosphere than that of the House of Commons, and Mrs. Humphrey Ward battling with topics that torture the embryo theological student. Hardly a purpose, scarcely a notion, but has found its exponents, advocates, detractors and critics among the crowd of our writers of novels. Not only purposes but problems have yielded material for the writers of fiction. The real difficulty would be to find any sort of conundrum that has lacked attention or provisional solutions. As seems appropriate to fictional narrative, not only actual difficulties, mental or moral, that have to be faced, but hypothetical dilemmas are considered, in which impossible people find themselves placed in impracticable situations confronted by questions that have never really been asked, and are answered by methods of equations that have no mathematical or other existence outside the walls of Bedlam. All this only goes, of course, to show the enormous scope of the novel and what advantage has been taken of its possibilities. Are those possibilities now exhausted? I cannot think they are. The letters of the Alphabet are limited in number, and even Murray's dictionary has like the sea its boundary. The notes in Music can be counted. But who shall say that we are approaching the end of their possible combinations and mutations? As long as the great world rolls down the

ringing groves of change, and men and women exist, materials abundant will be found by the writers of fiction, who will continue to present kaleidoscopic shiftings of the patterns of life for the amusement, the instruction, and in certain important respects the improvement and elevation of man.

But if fiction is inexhaustible, and knows no end, human patience is not, and therefore, in conclusion, I would apply to the matter under consideration the wise words once used of a greater subject and even more extensive theme. "Use this world, as not abusing it."

A LIVERPOOL PHYSICIAN AND MAN OF LETTERS:

JAMES CURRIE, M.D., F.R.S, (1756-1805).

By ALFRED W. NEWTON, M.A.

THE subject of my paper to-night was not a Liverpool man by birth, but he did the best work of his life here, and is always known as Dr. Currie of Liverpool. His name is probably known to you all as the first serious biographer of Robert Burns, and the Editor of his Poems: but he also deserves remembrance in Liverpool as one of the founders of the Athenæum, as well as a public reformer. It is an astonishing thing that no paper on his Life has ever been read until now before this Society.

Although not an Englishman, he was born very near to England—only 3 miles off—at Kirkpatrick Fleming in Annandale, of which place his father, with the same name, was the minister. James Currie was born at the Manse on 31st May, 1756. His grandfather was also a minister, and a man of some means, possessing considerable property on the banks of the Annan. But Currie's father does not seem to have inherited much of this property—if we can draw an inference from Currie's early life and first plunge into the world of business and struggle. The biographer, on whom we directly rely, his son, William Wallace Currie, has exercised reticence on this and other points.

As a boy he received a fair education, first at the parish school of Middlebie, where he learned some Latin and

began Greek, and afterwards at Dr. Chapman's school at Dumfries, where he remained until he was about fifteen. His mother died in 1769 while he was at this school. He mentions in a letter to his son, the biographer, how the news arrived at the school on the very morning of the public examination. The master tried to keep it from him as he had been chosen to speak an address to the clergy and magistrates, but one of the boys blurted it out, and poor young Currie was unable to suppress his feelings before the school, the struggle to hide them causing him intense suffering.

In 1771 his father sent him to Virginia, to a small settlement on James River, called Cabin Point. This he did in consequence of the persuasive promises of a merchant there. Like many such promises these were not kept: though young Currie worked hard and faithfully in a noxious climate, which brought on an intermittent fever. There is this to be said on behalf of the merchant that the times were very difficult. It was the eve of the American war, and the relations between the Colony and the Mother Country had become strained. Currie remained about five years in the Colony; but in the spring of 1776, with about 40 other young men similarly situated, he petitioned the Convention of the Colony for leave to return to Great Britain.

The petition was granted; yet, on their embarking on a vessel for Greenock, it was seized by the Convention without any reason assigned. The strong personality of James Currie is testified to by the fact that he was chosen by his companions to wait on the Convention and ascertain their reasons. He found that their treatment was the effect of 'some groundless plot hatched against them'. The whole party were turned adrift to range the forests, and Currie returned to his former place of residence. He

had great difficulty in avoiding conscription, and still greater in escaping from America: but at last he was allowed to sail to St. Eustatius as supercargo. He there sold the vessel and cargo. After this he was attacked by a violent fever, which fell on his nerves, and rendered him paralytic for a time. When convalescent he repaired to Antigua, and while there gladly accepted a commission from some merchants to carry despatches to government and make some remonstrances on the conduct of Admiral Y——. In February, 1777, he sailed for London: but his ill-fortune still followed him: for his ship was detained by such violent storms that duplicate despatches reached London before him, and so he lost the promised gratuity of one hundred guineas.

Before passing on to his life in Great Britain, I will give an extract from one of his letters written on 23rd May, 1775, when he was within a few days of 19 years of age. It shows his powers of observation. Discussing the dispute between the Colony and the Mother Country he makes these remarks—

The people of this country are bred up to the gun from their infancy: without dispute they are as fine marksmen as any in the universe. The face of the country is entirely covered with woods, consequently excellently fitted for ambuscades, and a single gun can be fired at a body of troops without their being able to discover their enemy. For these and a number of other reasons, which I have not time to enumerate, I am clearly of opinion that though the Colonies may be distressed, they never can be conquered: and that if matters should ever get to that height, it would probably end in the utter ruin of the mother-country.

Events showed that Currie was quite right in his forecast: but luckily that obstinate monarch, George III, was induced to consent to the independence of the Colony before the ruin dreaded by Currie was consummated. On

his return home Currie decided to enter on the study of medicine at Edinburgh, where he worked indefatigably both at that subject and the improvement of his mind in literature and philosophy. How the expenses of these studies were met, is not told us: we meet here with another of the Biographer's reticences. We only know that his father was dead, and that he lived very frugally. In spite of an attack of rheumatic fever he prosecuted his studies so successfully that—to quote his son—‘he finished his medical education with honour and distinction’: but the diploma which he received in April, 1780, was that of Glasgow, the reason being that he was anxious to obtain an appointment as physician to an expedition sailing for Jamaica, and was unwilling to wait some months for Degree Day at Edinburgh. Again he was disappointed, the post being given to another; but we may safely say that the seeming misfortune was really good fortune, for on visiting a near relative of the same name, Dr. Currie of Chester, he received the advice to settle either at Liverpool or Manchester. A fresh proof of his sagacity is the fact that, after seeing both towns, he chose Liverpool.

We have seen that up to *then* difficulties, disappointments, and misfortunes had harassed him: but, from the date of his settling down in Liverpool, October, 1780, he never looked back professionally, though the gloom of the political horizon sometimes depressed him.

Still his first impressions of his fellow-townsmen were not altogether favourable. He describes them in a letter to an Aunt, as ‘shy in their manners, with ideas and opinions very different from those to which his college studies had accustomed him, and unrefined in their tasks and pleasures’. It is only fair to say that this was his first opinion formed a month after arrival, and also that Liverpool was then but a small, provincial town. In 1780

the population only numbered 40,000, but the town was growing rapidly in importance as a commercial community, thanks to its shipping, docks, and trade with America, New Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope and India. During the remaining 25 years of his life Currie saw Liverpool more than double its population, and increase in prosperity in proportion. When he first saw it, the only docks were the Old Dock, where Canning Place is now, George's Dock and Salthouse Dock, with two dry basins and three graving docks. There was also a very small dock for barges, called the Duke's Dock. To these were added, in Currie's lifetime, the King's Dock and the Queen's Dock. He also saw built the Athenæum, the Lyceum, the Dispensary in Church Street, St. John's Church, St. Mark's Church, Christ Church (in Hunter Street), the first Scotch Presbyterian Church in Oldham Street (1793), and the Jewish Synagogue in Upper Frederick Street. Yet the slow advance of the town, compared with later times, is shown by the fact that at the date of Currie's death there were few houses in Lime Street, then called Lime Kiln Lane.

Currie's need for sympathetic friendship was lessened in a few months by the settlement at Manchester of his school and college friend, Dr. George Bell, with whom and with Dr. Currie of Chester, he used to arrange meetings at Warrington.

In April, 1781, Currie received the compliment of election as one of the physicians to the Liverpool Dispensary, which was then situated in Princes Street with a front to North John Street. The succeeding year it was removed to Church Street. The following extract from the Biography (vol. I, p. 64), as it illustrates the Liverpool of this time, may be of interest:—

It may be mentioned as some indication of the state of manners in Liverpool, at this period, that he considered it necessary to

become a member of two card clubs, which met on Monday and Thursday evenings. He belonged also to a bowling-green club, which held its meetings on Saturday noon, three miles distant from town, and to a weekly literary society. But, except the last, he attended none of these meetings regularly, being much occupied by the Dispensary, and entering a good deal into general company. The re-establishment of the literary society, which he was the principal means of reviving in a new form, and which held its first meeting at his lodgings, was a source of peculiar pleasure to him, as it gave an impulse to his literary pursuits, and brought him into acquaintance, subsequently ripened into friendship, with men whose names have contributed to confer a character on the town of Liverpool. Mr. Roscoe, Mr. Rathbone, the Rev. John Yates, Professor W. Smyth of Cambridge, the Rev. W. Shepherd, and other intelligent and estimable individuals, were members of this society, at its commencement or in the course of its duration. When elected President of the society, he read a paper on the objects of such societies, and on the mode of best conducting their proceedings.

He was requested to print this paper, but never did so. There are four short papers printed in the Appendix to Vol. I of the Biography, which were read by Dr. Currie before the Liverpool Literary Society. Their subjects are: (i), Sketch on the subject of the Division of Legislative Powers; (ii), On Eloquence; (iii), On Physiognomy; and (iv), Effects of the Different Branches of Cultivation of Mind on the Individual.

They are all short papers that would not take half an hour to read, but show a thoughtful and original mind, as well as literary ability. His son tells us (I. 65) that:—

The meetings of the literary society were continued for eight or nine years: but some time after the commencement of the French Revolution, although it was a rule that no political subject should be discussed, it was thought prudent, owing to the heated state of the public mind produced by that event, that they should cease.

It may amuse you to hear Dr. Currie's description of

the Society contained in a letter to Captain (afterwards Admiral) Graham Moore written in February, 1792, *i.e.*, shortly before the Society came to a premature end as above stated. Currie writes as follows,—

We have a society that meets once a fortnight, that is very agreeable, to which three additional members have lately been added. We discuss politics, subjects of taste, science, etc., before supper, in a regular kind of conversation; and, after supper, we laugh and talk at large. I will give you a taste of our subjects. Last night we discussed "The best mode of educating women"; the night before, "The Poor Laws, and the interests of the poor"; before that, "Whether one or two houses of legislation are preferable in the construction of a free government"; previous to that, "The influence of Rousseau's writings on the taste and morals"; and on the evening preceding, "Certain rules established by Dr. Franklin, about sixty years ago, on forming a literary club, which has terminated in the Philosophical Society of America"—rules full of beauty and of singular simplicity. We have no written papers, unless any member chooses to write: but we have a president, and a sort of regular conversation, so that every man is heard to an end. The scheme was mine, and it succeeds wonderfully. I like it, because it admits of getting near the bottom of things, and it ensures fighting at close quarters, which I have a relish for. Most of the members you have seen. We are now fourteen in number. The effect of this exercise of the mind has been apparent on a late occasion. One or two of our members are engaged in what are called borough politics, and at a public meeting were wonderfully distinguished by their eloquence. They could stand up and talk ten or twenty minutes together to a thousand people, without nonsense or confusion—a thing which astonished the audience, and made the mob shout.

Evidently public speakers were rare in those days; whether the rapid increase of late years in the production of such persons has been an unmixed good to the country may be questioned.

This Liverpool Literary Society was evidently as much of a Social Club and Debating Society as a Literary one,

and much smaller than the Literary and Philosophical Society inaugurated by Roscoe and his friends in 1812, whose successors we are proud to be.

Dr. Currie, soon after his establishment in Liverpool, became a friend of the Cropper family, and was introduced by them to their relative, Dr. Percival of Manchester. The result of an intimate friendship with two Manchester doctors—Percival and Bell—showed itself in his election^a as an honorary member of the Philosophical and Literary Society of Manchester in November, 1781. His contribution on the occasion was a paper on Hypochondriasis, which is printed in the Appendix to his Life.

Dr. Currie rapidly made friends in Liverpool, and his patients increased. Consequently, we are not surprised to learn that he married in January, 1783. The lady was the daughter of William Wallace, an Irish gentleman, established as a merchant in Liverpool, whose address in 1780 or 1781 was No. 82 in Duke Street, then a new and fashionable street. Both Mr. Wallace and his wife claimed descent from the Scottish hero of that name. This marriage would doubtless be a help to Dr. Currie in his profession. The next noteworthy event in his life is the loss of his great friend, Doctor George Bell of Manchester, who died in February, 1784. Dr. Currie made several journeys to see him in his illness, travelling by night at a peculiarly severe season, and as a result became ill himself with cough and spitting of blood. He was afraid of consumption, a tendency to which he inherited from his mother: by profuse bleedings, persevered in contrary to the advice of his physicians, he cured himself, but was left very weak.

For a change he visited Bristol accompanied by his wife and Miss Cropper, and stayed there a month. He next visited Matlock, and afterwards Moffat in Dumfries.

'Here his strength recovered daily, and he began to eat animal food, which for several months before he had not tasted.' Riding exercise was a great restorative in his case. Besides his weakness he had to fight against the depression caused by the death of one sister through consumption the previous year, and a second from the same disorder while he was lying ill at Bristol. However, in July he was able to say in a letter to Mrs. Duncan of Lochrutton, a relation, that he was in good health and tolerable spirits. In the following year (1785) he wrote a Memoir of Dr. Bell for the Manchester Philosophical Society. This is given in the Appendix to Vol. I. of the Life.

The Liverpool of those days owed much of its prosperity to the slave trade, and to attack that trade was an unpopular and even dangerous thing to do in the good old town. Dr. Currie joined the opponents of traffic in slaves, and was supported by the Croppers and Dr. Percival of Manchester. But, as his son tells us,

He was in the midst of many friends, who were embarked in the slave trade, with whom he was in habits of daily intercourse and intimacy, and from whom he experienced much kindness. His professional success, too, depended on the good opinion of the community in which he was placed—to what extent may be conceived, when it is stated that those suspected or known to entertain sentiments hostile to the traffic were generally either received with coolness or avoided with dislike by the persons concerned in it.

When the French Revolution was at its height the Liverpool slave-traders designated their opponents as friends of the French and enemies of the British Cabinet. Dr. Currie showed his breadth of view by writing a long letter to Wm. Wilberforce on the last day of 1787, in which, while warmly supporting his views, he deprecated the obtaining of information from the lowest seamen, and

publishing such as facts, when the merchants of Liverpool engaged in the trade were quite ready to give his agent every assistance in their power. This letter produced a friendly reply, and was the occasion of a correspondence between them at different intervals respecting the slave trade.

By temperance in conduct and in language, Dr. Currie contributed to advance the cause of abolition in Liverpool, and to aid the unwearied efforts of his friends, Mr. Roscoe, Mr Rathbone, the Rev John Yates, and many others of its distinguished advocates: and in March, 1788, a poem, entitled "The African," the joint production of Mr. Roscoe and Dr. Currie appeared anonymously in the London papers. The slave on the fore-castle bewails his lot, and sees the spirit of his dead wife, with the result that he thus resolves:—

To-morrow the white man in vain
Shall proudly account me his slave;
My shackles I plunge in the main,
And rush to the realms of the brave.—(I, 126.)

In a letter Currie says that secrecy and haste in printing in London were necessary, because he found rumours had gone out that there was such a poem, "which our polite negro-dealers would impute to the author as an unpardonable offence." In another letter he dwells on the unhappiness produced in Liverpool by the controversy: 'men,' he says, 'are awakening to their situation, and the struggle between interest and humanity has made great havoc in the happiness of many families.'

Much interesting information on the Liverpool slave-traffic is given in Richard Brooke's *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the 18th century*, published in 1853 by J. Mawdsley & Son, Castle Street, to which work I must, for want of space, advise you to refer, contenting

myself with the remark that the pious language used in a bill of lading for slaves, given by Mr. Brooke at length, reminds one forcibly of the Kaiser's references to the Deity. The slaves are shipped 'by the grace of God,' and Captain David Morton is master 'under God' of the good ship, 'Mary Borough,' which by God's grace is bound for Georgey in South Carolina.

You will all remember that Edward Rushton, the Liverpool poet, became blind when second mate on a slave ship, through assisting the poor slaves who were afflicted with ophthalmia.

An illustration of the feeling of many Englishmen towards Liverpool's share in the slave trade is given in the *Life of Roscoe* by his son (2 vols., 1833). We are told that Fuseli paid a visit to Roscoe in 1804, while our Founder was residing at Allerton. Roscoe pointed out to Fuseli the improvements which had taken place in Liverpool. Fuseli observed—

I do not wonder that you look upon these with some degree of self-complacency, for they may be considered as the work of your hands, and as such I view them with interest: but methinks I everywhere smell the blood of slaves.

In 1786 Dr. Currie was made one of the Physicians to the Liverpool Infirmary, and the Report for 1788 was drawn up by him.

In 1790 he exerted himself to help on the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and drew up the resolutions which were passed unanimously by the Dissenters of Liverpool. Currie's position is made clear in a letter to the Rev. E. Owen of Warrington, in which he mentions that he was the son of a clergyman of the established Church of Scotland, and therefore believed in some form of established church, but objected to articles of faith.

In that year he lost two of his children, and his own

health was bad. Some consolation would be received from the Sonnets written by Roscoe and sent to him as a token of sympathy.

In the same year Roscoe and Currie contributed a number of Essays to the Liverpool Weekly Herald, which appeared under the title of *The Recluse*. Three of these, written by Currie, are given in the Appendix to Vol. I. of the son's Biography. The first is a dissertation on the mode of giving advice to others, the second and third form together the completed account of an allegorical vision supposed to have been received from some unknown correspondent. They both attest the Doctor's power of literary expression, and also that he had studied the styles of the writers in *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*.

The year 1790 was also marked by his election to membership of the London Medical Society, for which occasion he wrote a paper on *Tetanus and Convulsive Disorders*, which appeared in their Transactions.

It may be of interest to note, that in Gore's Liverpool Directory for this year he appears as residing at No. 22 Church Street and his father-in-law at No. 97 Duke Street. The 22 Church Street of that date would probably be near the corner of Parker Street. In those days the numbering was continuous and began on the left-hand side. The 97 Duke Street of 1790 would probably be the same house as the 82 of 1780. The number of new houses built since then had increased the number of this particular house.

In May, 1792, Dr. Currie visited the small estate of Dumcrief, which he had bought near Moffat, and also Dale's cotton mills at Lanark. His idea was to start cotton mills on his estate; but Mr. Dale did not encourage him to do so, pointing out that everything depended on the management. The letter describing his visit (I. 154) is an interesting one written in a lively style, but too long to

quote. He speaks of breakfasting with Archdeacon Paley at Carlisle, and of riding part of the way to Moffat, but getting a chaise at Ecclefechan. Of the last-mentioned place he remarks, "there's a name to break your teeth." If he could have foreseen the birth in that village in $3\frac{1}{2}$ year's time, of Thomas Carlyle, his future critic, he would have regarded it with more interest.

Of Paley he speaks with high praise in a subsequent letter—"If you should meet him, you will see an English clergyman to the best advantage."

In April, 1793, Dr. Currie was applied to by Mr. Wilberforce, the personal friend and warm supporter of Mr. Pitt, for information as to the trade of Liverpool, and for his opinion on the probable effects of the war upon the trade and manufactures of the country. His two letters in reply produced an invitation to proceed to London to discuss the subject more fully. He went in May, and was in hopes that his interview with Wilberforce would have produced some effect, but was disappointed. He, thereupon, remodelled the two letters into one letter to Mr. Pitt, supposed to be written by a Jasper Wilson. This was published in London in June, 1793, under the title of—*A Letter commercial and political addressed to the Right Hon. William Pitt, in which the real interests of Britain are considered, and some observations are offered on the general state of Europe: by Jasper Wilson, Esq.*

In this pamphlet Dr. Currie warmly advocated peace with France. He considered that a war policy was suicidal, and would end in the bankruptcy of the nation: the French were wishful for peace with us, and should be left to manage their own affairs as they chose.

There is much in what he says, but the Essay is too long and prolix. I will, however, cite the following

passages from it, which show that the position was almost the opposite of ours to-day—

Currie says:—

The opportunity of restoring general peace presented itself at the time of the Congress of Antwerp. Dumourier had retreated; Flanders was recovered. We had nothing to do but to declare, what must, I think, be declared in the end, that if France will confine herself within her own territory, she may there shape out her own constitution at her will. Had this been done at the time mentioned, Dumourier, not rendered odious by foreign alliance, would, in all probability, have been able to restore the constitutional monarchy: and, in every event, France, occupied by intestine divisions, would, as it seems probable, have left Europe in quiet for many years to come. This policy was so clear that a mere child might have discerned it; it did not even require a negotiation with the French cabinet: and while it secured our best interests, it left our honour without a stain.

How, then, shall we account for the resolves of the Congress of Antwerp? We must unveil the truth. The members of this Congress were German princes or their agents: even the representative of England there was a German prince. Such men, from their education, are in general ignorant, and labour under prejudices, from their situation of a destructive kind. Military despots in their own dominions, they feel it their personal interest, perhaps they think it the interest of mankind (such may be the force of prejudice), that despotism should be universal.

He sums up his argument with these words—

On various occasions during this bloody contest I have shown that the peace of Europe was in our own power: that it was in our power recently on the retreat of Dumourier, and after we had tasted the calamities of war. Why it was rejected you must yourself explain;—I have described the Congress of Antwerp, and am no further master of the subject.

Personally, I agree with much that Dr. Currie wrote on the subject of the French War, and consider that George III., both in this matter and that of the American Colonies, proved himself the bane of England. We must

remember that at this period the Star of Napoleon Buonaparte had not risen, and probably would never have risen, if we had resolved on peace with France. What Currie says of the German influence is undoubtedly the key of the position. George III. himself was of German blood.

The censorship of those days was more severe than what we may sometimes grumble about to-day. In a letter of 6th February, 1793, Currie writes to Alexander Young of Edinburgh—

The prosecutions that are commenced by government all over England against printers, publishers, &c., would astonish you: and most of these are for offences committed many months ago. The printer of the *Manchester Herald* has had seven different indictments preferred against him for paragraphs in his paper, and six different indictments for selling or disposing of Paine, *all previous to the trial of Paine*. The man was opulent, supposed worth £20,000; but these different actions will ruin him, as they were intended to do. The articles were free, but such as would not have been noticed in former times.

In another letter Currie says that he was the sole author of *A Letter by Jasper Wilson*, that it was written and printed in Liverpool between the 24th of May and the 6th of June (1793) after his return from London, where he had been informed by "a friend of administration" (evidently Wilberforce) that peace was in our power, in as far at least as the ruling faction in France could be considered as competent to make it.

There were five replies to the Pamphlet. Of these, one by George Chalmers, chief clerk of the Office of Trade and Plantation, published in February, 1794, was the most offensive, being vulgar in tone and affecting an intimacy with Dr. Currie, which had never existed. Chalmers intimated that the opinions expressed in the Letter of

Jasper Wilson were the very reverse of Currie's real sentiments, and thus, as it would appear, tried to hold him up to public reprehension as a hypocrite and an enemy to his country: but without success, thanks to the good feeling of the people of Liverpool. Currie would have brought out a 4th edition of the Letter in his own name and with a reply to Chalmers, but was deterred by the extraordinary restrictions on the press and the increasing irritability of the public mind. The receipt of anonymous threatening letters and the spread of reports that he had been committed to the Tower led him also to believe that there was a design to prevent any fresh publication from his pen. Currie was so upset by the political outlook that in July, 1793, he wrote to his kinsman in Virginia intimating that he might emigrate thither. This depression, however, passed away: for in May, 1795, he wrote to the same kinsman—

I shall stick to this country, whose government I venerate and respect, however much I have disapproved and deprecated the measures of its present administration.

From political pamphlets Currie turned to the publication of his professional experience in fever and febrile diseases, with the result that in 1797 appeared his *Medical Reports on the Effects of Water, cold and warm, as a Remedy in Fever and other diseases, whether applied to the surface of the body or used internally*. They were dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society. We are glad to learn from his Son "that the success and sale of this work were probably equal to those of any medical publication of the present or past times."

The practice recommended in this work, in cases of fever, was the dashing or pouring cold water over the body in the early stage of the disease, where the pulse was

frequent and the heat preternaturally great: and the use of tepid water in those feverish affections, where the debility was too great, the attack of too long standing, and the morbid actions too weakly associated to authorise the use of cold. Under similar restrictions he also permitted his patients to drink freely of cold water in fever. By the judicious application of this refrigerating treatment in different forms, according to circumstances, the disease was generally arrested in its onset, or mitigated in its progress, and finally subdued.

This remedy was contrary to the received opinions of the time: but in adopting it Dr. Currie was really following the lead of Dr. Wright of Edinburgh, and of his friend and colleague, Dr. Brandreth of Liverpool.

The *Medical Reports* reached a 4th edition at the date of Currie's death, and were translated into French and German.

His next literary task, that on which his fame outside Liverpool may be said to rest, was the writing the *Life of Robert Burns*, and the editing his *Works*.

The death of the poet on the 21st July, 1796, had concerned him greatly. The Doctor admired Burns's poems, knew some of his friends, and had once met and conversed with him: no wonder, then, that the poverty, in which the poet died and left his family, affected Currie and other admirers very deeply. With the help of Roscoe Currie promoted a Liverpool subscription for the relief of Burns's destitute family. This led him into correspondence with Mr. John Syme of Dumfries, who had been an intimate friend of the poet, and who, with other friends, wished Burns's letters and manuscripts to be collected, under the supervision of some man of letters, and published by subscription. They wished them to be preceded by a *Life of the Poet*. The money thus

gained would be handed over to Burns's family. There was some difficulty in obtaining a suitable biographer. In his correspondence with Syme, Currie expressed himself willing to attempt the task free of charge, but afterwards hesitated on account of the pressure of his own engagements. He says in a letter of September, 1796, that every day of his life he is four hours on horse-back and two on foot, and that this bodily exertion is attended with incessant exertion of mind. He complains too of the time taken up by the medical work, which I have just mentioned. He thought that the task would be better executed by an Edinburgh man of letters, but still would not refuse his assistance if Mr. Syme and Mrs. Burns insisted on keeping him to his promise. They refused to release him from his word, and he manfully fulfilled his pledge. It is not surprising that, busied as he was with other matters, the work occupied him during three years or thereabouts.

On 12th January, 1797, he received the Burns manuscripts and papers. In a letter of 8th February, he says—

I read them with sympathy, with sorrow, with pity, and with admiration: and, at times, with strong though transient disgust. Sealing up a few by themselves, that in my judgment ought to be committed to the flames, I sent the rest to my friend, Mr. Roscoe, as you desired, who has perused them also.

The difficulty of sorting the manuscripts and papers was very great, and he saw clearly that the biography would take longer than he anticipated.

In the Autumn of 1797 he was assisted by Mr. Syme and Gilbert Burns, the poet's brother, who came to Liverpool on his invitation and stayed a fortnight at his house, giving him information and advice.

It is important to remember this fact, having regard to Gilbert Burns's subsequent behaviour.

The work was printed by J. McCreery of Hoghton Street, Liverpool, and was published by subscription in four volumes 8vo., the first appearing in May, 1800. This first volume contained the *Life of Burns*, the second his correspondence and miscellaneous poems, the third formerly published poems, and the fourth his correspondence with Thomson and new poems.

At the beginning of the 1st volume is a list of subscribers. Among the 768 names we find those of the Earl of Derby, Sir Thomas Hesketh, and many other titled persons, as well as many Liverpool men, notably, A. H. Aiken, Dr. John Bostock, Thomas Case, Dr. Peter Crompton, Thomas Earle, Willis Earle (2 copies), John Gladstone, Robert Gladstone, Richard Heywood, Rev. Theophilus Houlbrooke, Henry Lawrence, Isaac Littledale, William Rathbone (3 copies), William Roscoe, and Rev. John Yates.

Thirty-two members of the Liverpool Athenæum were subscribers.

Of other names the most interesting are—Walter Scott, advocate, Edinburgh, G. B. Brummell, Chesterfield Street, London, Mr. G. Lewis, junr., Esq., M.P., of 9, Devonshire Place, London, Mrs. Darwin, Shrewsbury, Mrs. Siddons, London, J. P. Kemble, Esq., London, Rev. Dr. Valpy, Reading (2 copies).

The work was also subscribed for by the Birmingham New Library, the Nottingham Reading Society, the Tewkesbury Reading Society, the Warminster Book Society, and the Westerkirk Library, Eskdale. All these were English; the only Scotch Libraries which subscribed were the Dumfries Public Library and the Dumfries Gentlemen's Library.

Four editions of the work, each of 2,000 copies, appeared during Currie's lifetime, a fifth in the year of his

death, a sixth in 1809, and a seventh in 1813. The eighth edition, published in 1820, was revised and edited by Gilbert Burns, and was a failure. It deserved to be, as in a letter he had made an unjust attack on Dr. Currie.

Mr. Leslie Stephen speaks of £1,400 as the net gain, apparently, of the 1st edition alone: but it is at any rate certain that the proceeds from the sale of the *Life and Works of Burns*, as well as all the private subscriptions promoted by Currie and others, must have supplied the widow and children of the poet with a very considerable sum.

In his *Life of Robert Burns*, Dr. Currie tried to give as clear, fair and impartial an account as possible of the poet's life and character. This would be apparent to any reader, even if he had not his own words in a letter to the Rev. George Duncan, written shortly after the publication of the *Life*. He thus speaks of his work and its aims—

If I have softened somewhat the deep shade of his errors, you will not find, I trust, that I have compromised the interests of virtue. Burns is not held up for imitation, but the contrary: though I have endeavoured to do justice to his talents, and to the better qualities of his heart, and to cast a veil of delicacy and of sympathy over his failings and his destiny.

Though a readable and interesting account of the poet's life, the Biography would, in my opinion, have been improved, if Currie had not bewildered his readers by giving two incongruous accounts of the poet's early days, that furnished by Robert Burns himself to Dr. John Moore the author of *Zeluco*, and the one written by his brother, Gilbert Burns, without any attempt to combine them in a consistent whole. The best plan would have been to have omitted Gilbert Burns's account altogether as the least reliable, but Currie was doubtless anxious not to offend him. The observations on the character and conduct of

the Scottish peasantry, as well as the lengthy remarks on the revival of literature in Scotland, seem unnecessary to anyone whose interest is in Burns alone, and their introduction may perhaps justify somewhat the charge made against Currie by *Charles Lamb in a letter to Coleridge, written on the publication of the first volume, that the *Life of Robert Burns* is confusedly written. The long essay inserted from the *Dumfries Journal* on the death of Burns also seems superfluous: at any rate it need not have been given *in extenso*, but simply used as an authority for certain facts about him.

The great merit of Currie's work lies in his industrious compilation of facts and the collection of new information from authoritative sources given to the public for the first time. No subsequent *Life of Burns* could be written without a debt to this one, the first reliable *Life*, and no serious rival to it appeared until Lockhart's *Life of Robert Burns* in 1828, twenty-three years after Currie's death! Lockhart actually apologises in his Preface for writing such a *Life*, which he says was only needed because Currie's *Life* could not be detached from the *Poems*.

Two attacks on the *Life of Robert Burns* made after Currie's death ought, perhaps to be noticed. The first and gravest was that of Gilbert Burns who, after writing several letters of praise to the Doctor in his lifetime, alleged† 9 years after his death, that Currie had only known the events of the latter years of the poet's life "from the reports which had been propagated, and that by stating the substance of these reports, he had given a very exaggerated view of his failings at that period." This statement is quoted by Lockhart with approval and in condemnation of Currie.

* Lamb probably borrowed his brother's copy, for John Lamb was one of the original subscribers.

† In a letter to Mr. Peterkin, 1814, *Peterkin's Review*, p. 82. Note on p. 101 of Vol. II of Young's Edition of Lockhart's *Life of Burns*.

It is very unlikely that Currie was guilty of any such exaggeration. He himself claims—in the letter that I have quoted—to have ‘softened the deep shade of Burns’s errors,’ and an undesigned proof of his having really done so is given in the 1883 edition of Lockhart’s *Life of Robert Burns*. The Editor, W Scott Douglas, blames—and in my opinion rightly blames—Doctor Currie for having altered three words in Burns’s autobiographical letter. The words are ‘absolute defiance’ and ‘rebellion’, for which Currie substituted ‘opposition’ and ‘disobedience’ respectively. They occur in the Poet’s account of his unfilial disobedience to his father when a youth. No doubt Currie was shocked at the story and, as he would have said, ‘softened’ the expressions. Whatever blame we may attach to him for these slight alterations in the words, we must confess that his object was to favour Burns, not to discredit him. If any one still believes that Currie exaggerated Burns’s failings, I would recommend him to read the Poet’s rhymed Epistle of Willie Stewart, first published in the 1883 Edition of Lockhart’s *Life of Burns* (vol. II. p. 60). From Currie’s letters it would appear that Mr John Syme of Dumfries, Burns’s intimate friend, was his chief authority for the later incidents in the Poet’s life.

The other attack on Currie’s work is that made by Thomas Carlyle 23 years after the Doctor’s death. In his Essay on Burns, while admitting Currie to be ‘the kindest of all our poet’s biographers’, he says that the Doctor ‘introduces him with a certain patronising apologetic air: as if the polite public might think it strange and half unwarrantable that he, a man of science, a scholar and gentleman, should do such honour to a rustic’. In this criticism Carlyle is grossly unfair to Currie, who does indeed apologise for undertaking such a great task as writing the *Life of Burns* on the ground that his place of

residence, his accustomed studies and his occupations little fitted him for the office ; but he says that he had been unable to resist the solicitations of Mr. Syme, Mrs. Dunlop and other friends of the poet's family. They were of course anxious to secure such a man as Currie, who both possessed ability, and would do the work without any payment. In the very essay in which he attacks Currie, Carlyle shows himself a harsh judge of Burns. He says of him :—"His was no bankruptcy of the purse, but of the soul : to his last day he owed no man anything." This last statement is untrue as I will presently show, and the fact is important. To Carlyle Burns's poetry seems "a stray, vagrant gleam."

Before leaving the Biography of Burns, which constituted the *Magnum Opus* of Currie's literary life, I would add that the Doctor not only 'softened the dark shade of Burns's errors', but those of Scotland as well. He held that Burns's downfall and sad ending were due to his own errors alone, and there I consider Currie to have been wrong. The one great poet that Scotland produced she rewarded with the humble post of guager at a salary, which was a mere pittance. The temptations incident to this employment,—coming at a time when he was depressed by his failure as a farmer—drove him to excesses, which destroyed his health : and when he fell ill his miserable pittance was stopped. Nine days before he died, Burns—the proudest and most independent of Scotchmen—was obliged to write two begging letters in order to escape imprisonment for debt*. When we contrast the poor cottage in which he died with the mausoleum placed over his bones, we are reminded of the Pharisees, who built the sepulchres of the prophets, whom their fathers had murdered.

* The 1883 Edition of Lockhart's *Life of Robert Burns*, Vol. II, pp. 150 and 167.

It would not be seemly at a meeting of this Society to omit any mention of Roscoe's *Tributary Verses on the Death of Burns*, which Currie inserted at the end of the Life. They form a poem of 15 stanzas of 8 lines each. In introducing it Currie says that it would be impossible to print all the poems on Burns, so he has chosen 'one by the Biographer of Lorenzo di Medici', and adds—"of a person so well known, it is wholly unnecessary for the editor to speak: and, if it were necessary, it would not be easy for him to find language that would adequately express his respect and his affection."

It is interesting to note that the very month, in which Currie's Life of Burns was published, the Library of the Liverpool Athenaeum was first opened to members. The newsroom had been in use since the beginning of the previous year, and was the first of its kind in Liverpool. The only newsroom available before was one in Bates's Hotel, situated where Hope Bros.' shop in Lord Street and Whitechapel now stands. Dr. Currie was one of the Founders of the Athenaeum, and a member of its first Committee. If he had lived but a few years longer, instead of dying at the comparatively early age of 49, he would certainly have been one of the Founders of this Society in conjunction with his friend Roscoe.

Currie, Roscoe, 'and their friends, Dr. Rutter and William Rathbone, were also among the leading spirits of the Liverpool Library, which had been located in North John Street, thence removed to Lord Street, and finally established in 1803 in the present Lyceum Building. These four men were the warm supporters of every scheme for the advancement of Literature and the Arts in Liverpool.

Another proof of the philanthropy of Dr. Currie and his ever readiness to champion the cause of the oppressed

is given by his interference on behalf of the French prisoners of war in Liverpool. They were imprisoned in the large gaol in Great Howard Street, erected about 1786, but never used for ordinary prisoners until 1811. It stood where the goods station of the Lancs. & Yorks. Railway now stands. At the close of 1798 there were 4,000 French prisoners in Liverpool, and, at the Peace of Amiens in 1802, above 1,100 were liberated from this gaol and restored to their native land.

These French prisoners were badly fed, the Government having let out the contract of supplying them with food. At the request of a medical friend, Dr. Currie visited the prison. He was struck by 'the squalid, shivering and emaciated appearance' of its inmates, and agreed with his friend that the increase of disease among the prisoners was due to a deficiency of food and clothing. He decided to write to Sir Joseph Banks, with whom as President of the Royal Society, he was in the habit of occasional correspondence, and whom he knew to be personally acquainted with some of the members of the Board of Sick and Hurt, who had the superintendence of the prison hospitals. This letter, written on 13th June, 1801, occasioned great prejudice against Dr. Currie on the ground that he was casting undeserved reflections on the Government. Commissioners were sent to investigate who were evidently biassed against the Doctor, whom they called a Jacobin: but the Mayor of Liverpool (John Shaw), personally inspected the prison, and called upon the Government to interfere.

The investigation justified the conduct of Currie, and ended favourably for the French prisoners. Their allowance of food was increased: clothing was distributed to the naked: their comforts were in other respects augmented: and judicious regulations for the prevention or detection of abuses, which had fallen into disuse, were revived. (Vol. I of *Life*, p. 330.)

Thus Dr. Currie's championship of the weak was in this instance successful. His philanthropy gained further expression in the promotion of a scheme for erecting a hospital for contagious diseases. This scheme was first brought forward by the Doctor in 1796, but met with such opposition that it was not until 1801 that the plan was adopted by the Liverpool Vestry.

In January, 1802, the freedom of the Town was unanimously conferred upon Dr. Currie by the Common Council of Liverpool, in acknowledgment of 'his very great attention, skill and abilities', exerted for a long series of years as one of the Physicians to the Infirmary.

HIS own health was not good. There was consumption in his family, and three of his sisters had died from it. His son tells us that 'scarcely a winter passed, in which he was not visited by severe inflammatory attacks attended by cough and difficulty of breathing, for which he found venesection the only effectual though debilitating remedy. With a view to recuperation he visited Buxton in the summer of 1802, but was unfortunate in the weather, which was 'cold, wet and windy'. He only stayed four days, though he met congenial society there—Dr. Clarke of Newcastle, who had been a correspondent of his, Archdeacon Paley, whom he had met at Carlisle in 1792, and others—but as he says in a letter, "Do think of a man never having a day out of Liverpool for eight years, but the four I spent at Buxton! and to have been soaked and chilled in the middle of July all the time on the top of those barren hills!"

Walter Scott introduced Currie to the poet, Thomas Campbell, who this year stayed with him for a fortnight, no doubt at the house then numbered 22 in Church Street.

In the following year war with France was renewed, and Dr. Currie's son became a grenadier in the Liverpool Fusiliers, whom thus he describes in a letter—

A volunteer regiment for the defence of the town, and, in case of invasion, throughout the island, commanded by my particular friend, William Earle. They serve without pay, and find their own clothing and arms. They consist mostly of gentlemen. The command of the corps was originally offered to me : and I would most willingly have accepted it, had the duties attending it been at all compatible with those of my profession. (*Letter to Mr. Macneill*, I, 351.)

He adds that everybody is arming, expecting invasion and confident of repelling it. So History repeats herself.

Though confident of success, Currie was afraid that the war would injure public credit. He was always a pessimist on this point. In a letter written ten years before he gave as his opinion that if war lasted another year national bankruptcy would be inevitable. What would he have said of our immense war debt to-day?

The severe winter of 1803-4 affected his health, and in the spring of 1804 he decided to go away for a change. He first visited Scotland, meeting at Moffat Mr. John Syme, Mr. McKeith, and his son, Wm. Wallace Currie. At Dumfries he called on Mrs. Burns, who gave him one of the Poet's books as a memento. He only stayed three days at Dumfries, 'being compelled', says his son, 'to escape from the hospitalities of his friends, to which he was quite unequal'. Thence he repaired to Newcastle, the home of his friend, Dr Clarke, and returned from there to Liverpool by way of Durham and Harrogate. Writing to James Mason of Shrewsbury from Gillsland, Spa, in Northumberland, he speaks of returning 'westwards to busy, noisy, smoky, money-getting Liverpool'. Well, he shared in the 'money-getting': for in a letter to Mr. Syme of 1805, he says that in going to Bath he abandoned a practice in Liverpool of nearly £2,000 a year. (I. 376).

His visit to Scotland appeared at first to have done Dr Currie good, but the improvement was lost soon after-

wards through the agitation and concern occasioned in the following August by the fatal illness of his friend, Dr. Percival of Manchester.

It was a strange fatality that Dr. Currie's three great friends—all of his own profession—Dr George Bell, Dr. Percival and Dr. Clark died young, and were visited by him in their last illness. The death of each of these was a shock to him, and no doubt helped to lower his vitality.

Dr. George Bell and Dr. Percival both practised and died in Manchester. Dr. Clark practised in Newcastle, but died at Bath in Currie's presence, who in a letter greatly praises his patience amid 'incalculable sufferings'.

The third edition of Dr. Currie's *Medical Reports* appeared in June, 1804, and the 4th edition in the following year.

The attendance upon Dr. Percival had so shaken him that he resolved to pass the winter away from Liverpool and decided to try Bath. At the end of November he set out for Clifton, stayed there a few days and then went on to Bath, where he remained a month, returning to Clifton about the beginning of January. At Clifton he stayed in the house then known as No. 5 Mall.

About the beginning of March, 1805, he returned to Bath with a view to settling there. His son says that he at once fell into an easy and extensive practice, and he would no doubt have found Bath a happy place of residence. But it was not to be. His health became worse in the summer, and he decided to make a tour to the southern coast, a tour delayed by his desire to revise the 4th Edition of his *Medical Reports*, to which he added a chapter. Early in August he left Bath for Sidmouth, arriving on the 11th. His friend, Miss Kennedy, joined him there. He only lived 20 days after his arrival, dying on 31st August, 1805, aged 49 years and 3 months. He was interred in

the parish church at Sidmouth, where he is commemorated by an epitaph from the pen of Professor William Smyth of Cambridge, an old member of the Liverpool Literary Society.

The character of Doctor Currie is apparent from his writings and letters, as well as the zealous part he took in winning social reforms for Liverpool. He was conscientious, industrious, an ardent advocate of liberty, and a warm and faithful friend. He was also a real patriot, remaining in favour of the Union with Ireland as a necessary measure, though he sympathised deeply with the Irish in their sufferings and wrongs. As I have mentioned before, he was at first an admirer of the French Revolution, like Wordsworth, Southey and others, but also like them he was shocked by the excesses of the Revolutionaries, and later on he feared the ambition and power of Napoleon.

His literary gifts appear, not only in the published works to which I have referred and in his papers read before Societies, but also in the letters collected by his son, and forming the second volume of the Life.

Twenty-one of these are addressed to his son, the biographer, and are full of good advice as regards his conduct at school, his pronunciation, the importance of learning to speak in public, the value of the quality of attention, the importance of self-command and the guilt of an imprudent marriage. It is amusing to notice that residence in England had not entirely obliterated the canny caution of the native Scot, for in one of his letters he warns his son as a student at Edinburgh University to be careful how he criticises Scotch people and things. *They are*, he writes (II 232), *a shrewd, observing people. They will be jealous of your observations on their country: never be so candid as to point out their faults, or what appear to you as such, even though they should lead the way. What*

you like you may safely acknowledge, but do not be too forward in praising either. I remember when I lived in Edinburgh, and young Englishmen, that were at all known, came among us, we were curious to know their opinions of Edinburgh and its society, but so unreasonable as neither to relish censure nor violent praise.

There is an interesting account, in a letter of June, 1796, of his visit to the Theatre Royal in Williamson Square, where he saw Mrs. Siddons act the parts of 'Jane Shore' and 'Lady Randolph.'

But time will not allow of many more quotations. I will merely add that his son describes him as 'tall and well formed, erect and inclining to robust. His step was slow and measured: his air commanding and dignified, admitting of no approach to familiarity: and his whole appearance calculated to inspire respect'. He had black hair, blue eyes and a florid complexion. I do not give the entire description as being perhaps coloured by the son's partiality. But we can all agree that he lost a worthy father and Liverpool a worthy free-burgess.

I will conclude with the last six lines of the epitaph by Professor Smyth—

Freedom and Peace shall tell to many an age
 Thy warning counsels, thy prophetic page;
 Art, taught by thee, shall o'er the burning frame
 The healing freshness pour, and bless thy name:
 And Genius, proudly, while to Fame she turns,
 Shall twine thy laurels with the wreath of Burns.

A SHAKESPEARE SOUVENIR.*

1616—1916.

BY REV. F. LINSTEAD DOWNHAM, A.K.C., F.P.H.S.

SONNET No. I.

Not chiefly to departed days belong
 The poet's charms, their glory will not wane;
 Such elemental powers enforce his song,
 That culture's changes can but bless his reign;
 His spacious thought, with wizard ease express'd
 The splendour and the saneness of his speech,
 Have made for him an ever-during rest,
 Which critic's praise or censure cannot reach:
 No one, as he, has laid man's spirit bare,
 Nor read the script of motive with such skill;
 Without contempt, but with consummate care,
 Threading the labyrinth of the human will:
 With the world's greatest sharing fadeless fame;
 Shakespeare, with pride, we breathe that English name.

* The tercentenary of the death of William Shakespeare fell on Easter Day, April 23rd, which was also St. George's Day in the year 1916 of the Great War,.

SONNET No. II.

Since Shakespeare clos'd his eyes for that last sleep
Which genius has no power to keep away,
Three hundred years have travell'd to the deep
That all the tides of time perforce obey :
In that long period, singers, sweet and strong,
The world's abiding reverence have won,
But few will hold their judgment to be wrong
Who deem that none may vie with Stratford's son :
The poet's age, as all men know, was coarse,
And gladly we could spare its serpent-slime ;
In impure air, at times, that voice grew hoarse,
Whose thrilling tones enrapture every clime :
Compar'd with Shakespeare's days our own are bright,
But, still we offer Goethe's prayer—" More light !"

SONNET No. III.

That prayer we offer now, for false ideals
Are causing some to call things evil good ;
To them, most strangely, Thor, not Christ, appeals ;
Their curse is on man's growing brotherhood :
Such sightless souls would hurl life from the height,
To which, through toils and tears, it has attain'd,
And plunge it in a desolating night,
Wherein were lost all good the world has gain'd :
Shakespeare's imperial fancy, wondrous speech,
What soil produc'd so exquisite a flower ?
Christendom has the right, with pride, to preach
That this fair bloom was nurtur'd in her bower :
That all her splendours shall not pass away
A sacrificial war we wage to-day.

SONNET No. IV.

Assail'd by mortal nature's last constraint
Three centuries ago, this Eastertide,
Upon the day of England's patron saint,
The greatest bard of all the ages died;
Most meet concurrence, for that peerless man,
Well-counted citizen of every place,
Liv'd here his days, as here his life began,
Spoke the strong speech of our great British race,
Cherish'd the faith that dwells within its breast,
And, in the precincts of Christ's sacred shrine,
In English ground, his body lies at rest,
Until shall come again his Lord divine:
Till then, from far-off lands, will pilgrims meet,
To pay their homage at the poet's feet.

These sonnets are dedicated to the Society. They were read by the author before the members on the 4th December, 1916. The manuscript is preserved in the Minute Book for that date.

ZIONISM—THE JEWISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

By BERTRAM B. BENAS, B.A., LL.B

ZIONISM—the Jewish National Movement—endeavours to rationalise the position of the Jewish people *vis-à-vis* the other Peoples of the World by securing the recognition of Israel's Ancient Homeland as the centre of Jewish Nationhood. It is the national doctrine of which the movement is the expression. "Zionism is as old as the Book of Isaiah and the 137th Psalm; and Jews have dreamt the kingly dream of the Restoration throughout the long night of the Dispersion." These are the words of the Very Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, the Chief Rabbi, and are to be found in a Fortnightly Review article upon Zionism appearing in December, 1916, contributed by the Ecclesiastical Head of the Anglo-Jewish Community. The statement is of significant import, since there is a tendency more pronounced within certain sections of Occidental Jewry, although occasionally not altogether absent, and perhaps derivatively present, outside Jewish spheres, to regard Zionism as a matter of comparative recency—a confusion of the idea with the organisation. The error arises, where it exists disingenuously, from the practice of thinking of bygone times in terms of modern life. Organisation itself in its developed form is a phenomenon of contemporary history, and has a very short lineal genealogy. But it is obviously erroneous to argue the

absence of an idea because at the particular period the subject of discussion there did not exist an organisation specifically, or even partially, devoted by express mention to its maintenance or promotion. Kindness to children and to animals, relief to the indigent, succour to the wayfarer, and the feelings which prompt humane action in general, ante-date by centuries the organised efforts for their pursuit characteristic of the present day. In point of fact, Jewish organised effort is one of the earliest phenomena of the Hebraic civilisation, and "Hebroth" or Societies for the co-operative exercise of the "Mitzvoth" or precepts of life existed long before the modern prototypes of combined endeavour—and thus the present Jewish philanthropic associations are really grafts of the form of current systematic methods upon a very ancient Jewish foundation. But Jewry has a practical bent, and centred its energies in the past upon the practice of that which had to be done—not upon the affirmation of an idea which was undisputed, nor in the vain endeavour to achieve that which was beyond human reach. The doctrine of the Restoration did not need to be preached—there were then no unbelievers. To endeavour to achieve the Resettlement politically was unthinkable in times when scarce in any part of the world Jewry had the legal capacity of being politically articulate. It was not only "Orthodoxy," but the foresight of sound sense which then projected the realisation of the ideal as a "divine far off event," just as it is not only "Orthodoxy" but also practical politics now to place the endeavour within the ambit of contemporary effort. For, as the Chief Rabbi has said of Zionism in the article already quoted, "the most revered Orthodox Rabbis of Eastern Europe (the "Mizrachi" group at the Zionist Congresses) and a large portion of the world's Jewish scholars and leaders of religious thought in the

West (like the late Dr. Schechter) have ranged themselves under its banner.”*

Human life both conditions and is conditioned by surrounding circumstances. The expression of the Zionist idea, until the present era, depended upon environing political conditions, which were neither characterised by organisation nor were likely to suffer it. The ebb and flow of the manifestations of the movement, except in the last and the present centuries, bear no relation to the currency of the principle upon which it is based. Until the Nineteenth Century, the principle of the Restoration and the consciousness of nationhood associated therewith were axiomatic. It is futile to argue that the envisaging of the ideal to-day differs in manner from that which obtained in past centuries. The Nation to the individual is as the Macrocosm to the Microcosm. The ideals of an individual mature progressively—they expand and ramify although their nature be one and the same. So with a nation—the national ideal matures progressively—it expands and ramifies although its nature be one and the same. The great prophetic forecasts in the Hebrew Scriptures which tell of the Resettlement and place the vision of the hope before an Israel in Diaspora, declare the nature of the ideal. Their very breadth of expression and width of scope make for lengthening human visualisation and progress.

Aspects of the Zionist ideal have evolved in the last decades as they have evolved in the centuries. The very fact that this progress of evolution has been recently most active in its exercise and yet has maintained the identity

* For an exposition of Zionism from the standpoint of the Jewish Faith, see the article, “Judaism—a National Religion,” by the Very Rev. Dr. M. Gaster, Chief Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregations in Britain, in the volume *Zionism and the Jewish Future*.

of Zionism intact, is a testimony to the right of Modern Zionism to the succession of the historic Jewish National ideal. The education of youth, the treatment of the suffering, the government of the country, the assertion of right, differ in manner not only as between century and century, but almost as between year and year—yet education, philanthropy, law, and ethics are not of yesterday—the school, the hospital, the law court, the academy of to-day are lineal descendants of an old stock, let them differ ever so much from their predecessors of bygone years.

And thus it is with the Jewish National Movement which seeks not only to rationalise the position of the Jewish People *vis-à-vis* the other Peoples of the World through the central *locus in quo* Palestine—but also thereby to amend the irrational position Jewry occupies at times and in places through, on the one hand, persecution, and on the other, its subsequent withdrawal in favour of civic emancipation.

George Eliot in *Daniel Deronda* eloquently spoke of the day when Israel will choose his full heritage, claim the brotherhood of his nation, and carry it into a new brotherhood with the nations of the Gentiles. For a nation that has no love of its own identity cannot follow the Levitical injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Leviticus xix, 18) which Hillel, the great Jewish Rabbi, declared was the whole Law, the rest being but commentary (Talmud Bab. Shabbath 31a).

The first step to the self-preservation of a people is the consciousness that it is a people worthy of being preserved. The recognition of this consciousness can only be realised by the abandonment of excessive concentration on the present, and the insistence upon the cherishing of hope for the future. But this cherishing of hope for the future can

only come with living force if tradition is linked with the present. Tradition and aspiration become united in the realising of a conscious participation in the continuous process.

Jewry is regarded almost universally as a *tertium quid* between nationality and creed—and that particular *tertium quid* is not satisfactorily disposed of by the term race. Admission into and departure from the faith of the Jewish People are just sufficiently recurrent to prevent the idea of ethnic identity satisfactorily disposing of Jewish denomination by convenient relegation to the category of race.* Universal and devoted allegiance to native countries, or countries of adoption, has characterised Jewish citizenship so prominently that no constitution of the present day which can at all claim to be regarded as the legal apparatus of an articulate community, differentiates between its Jewish and non-Jewish citizens. But apart from all questions of constitutional law, the Jewish People feel or are led to feel that they are regarded, if not as a present nationality, at least as the representatives of a past nationality, and after so many centuries of both dispersion and cohesion, it cannot be other than natural that, in an era like the present when maps are changed and empires and states rise and become transformed, the non-Jewish world refuses to abandon its belief in the future renationalisation of Jewry as a distinctive entity in its ancient Homeland. The Jewry which realises its dormant but potent nationality admits the view held externally, and while recognising that Jewish citizenship in the Diaspora is a phenomenon which, frequent in the days of the Jewish

* Furthermore, it has been well observed that the term "Jewish race" is a misnomer. From this point of view Jewry is one of the constituent nations of the Semitic race, as the Welsh are of the Celtic race, and the Serbs of the Slavonic race.

State, is perfectly consistent with the specific attachment to the Ancient Jewish Homeland, asserts that the specific attachment thereto does not detract from local allegiance. This sphere of Jewry therefore finds public opinion not at variance, but in line with its own view. Jewry cannot gainsay the fact that it is regarded as an independent entity. This is an age in which the *raison d'être* of Jewry is more critically examined and more insistently questioned than at any period in modern times. Everyone who realises, either automatically or through the observations of others, the divergence which is recognised between the Jewish individual and the non-Jewish is met by certain definite questions. The relation of the Jewish entity to the world is questioned, the relationship of the groups of Jewry to the whole Jewish entity is similarly the subject of question, the relationship of the Jewish individual to all is critically questioned. The historic view alone wins. The Jewish entity is essentially the entity of a People. "Israelites", "Jews", "Hebrews"—all the terms used to denote the Jewish People bear a specifically historical meaning, and none of these terms has been convincingly superseded by one of a purely sectarian nature. The external world has never completely subscribed to the view that the Jewish People constitute merely an ecclesiastical denomination—and Jewry thus becomes the object of the same processes of mind which are applied to any definite group constituting a specific people—an historic or potential nationality.

If the Jewish People constitute a nation at Law, the ascription to them of legal nationality is only of universal validity if they can so be regarded by the principles of International Law—and of such universal validity as International Law possesses. That they do not constitute a Nation in International Law is quite certain. Writers

on International Law have preferred the term "State" to that of nation to express the entities of which International Law treats because of the way in which the word nation has been applied to persons of the same people who owe allegiance to different Governments—the people of Italy, before the unification, afford an instance of those who gave opportunity for indefinite expression. There is at present no Jewish State, and as a State is that which alone can confer legal nationality, therefore it follows there can be at present no Jewish legal Nationality at all. Every Jewish individual in the world, like every other individual, possesses the positive attribute of the legal Nationality of some State within the comity of Nations, and the negative and correlative attitude of alienage, apart from two exceptional varieties: the one is the Roumanian, which is an exception more apparent than real, for the status of the Jewish People in Roumania is, it would seem from the standpoint of International Law, one of Roumanian Nationality, even if Roumania chooses as yet to regard its autochthonous Jewry in such large numbers as within the sphere of alienage; the other is an exception not specific to the Jewish People, but represents a phenomenon of International Law, of not infrequent recurrence—it is the person of disputed nationality, disclaimed by one state and not acclaimed by the other. It can thus be seen that with the exceptions quoted the Jewish individual can acquire from the point of view of International Law the nationality of any Nation within the comity of Nations—but that he cannot acquire a *Jewish* legal nationality, for such a nationality is at present non-existent.* The

* Recent Jewish criticism of the Jewish National Movement by representatives of the Minority Dissentients renders it not altogether superfluous to point out that whenever a Jewish legal nationality becomes an existent fact, no one, according to International Law, can possess this legal nationality except by being a natural-born subject of the in-

emphatic assertion of these facts is all to the advantage of the upholders of the national Jewish standpoint for this reason: it clears the way for the outlook upon the Jewish position, clearing it from the obscurity of misapplied terminology.

A very distinguished Englishman, the late Sir John Gray Hill, in an address on *Zionism, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land*, delivered before the Liverpool Jewish Literary Society, and since reprinted, referred to a phenomenon of modern Jewish life in the Diaspora in the following words:—

I am told there is some feeling among the English Jews of there being a want of patriotism in interesting themselves in the Holy Land. That I do not understand. A Scotchman is a Scotchman, full of love for his own land and his own customs, poetry and song, but he is a Briton; so of a Welshman; so of an Irishman; so of a Devonshire man; so of a Lancashire man; we cherish these feelings of local pride; and yet we remain true to the great Empire to which we belong.

These significant expressions are of far-reaching value coming from one who, as one of the foremost maritime lawyers, possessed the widest knowledge of international points of view, and, as a leading advocate of the movements

dependent Jewish State conferring the Jewish legal nationality, or by such naturalisation therein as the independent Jewish State may allow. In other words, the possession of Jewish legal nationality will be due to individual local origin or individual choice. In no case, therefore, can it affect the existent citizenship of a Jew who is a subject of another state, except of his own free will. The question may have but a theoretical interest, for the objective of Jewish nationalism is not necessarily bound up with the establishment of an independent Jewish State. A Jewish State as a commonwealth of a Commonwealth of Nations would serve as a home for Jewish Nationhood, so long as that commonwealth was specifically identified with Jewish Nationhood. Jewish Nationhood has had a continuous existence since the birth of Jewry: it has lost its home but not its being, a phenomenon of which contemporary history affords many illustrations.

associated with the maintenance of British supremacy on the sea, was a leading British Imperialist.

Logically, since interfusion has existed, Jewry might be regarded as a definite sect, professing a specific faith like any one of the many sects of the dominant faith of the Occident. But historically and psychologically, Jewry is Israel—an ethnic, popular, national entity.

Proselytes to the Jewish Faith become by spiritual naturalisation participants of Jewish Nationhood, for they are denominated children of Abraham, the Father of the Jewish People, and the answer may be given to those who ask the question "Zionism: racial or sectarian?" that naturalisation has, as its correlative, denaturalisation, and that just as entry can be made into the sphere of Jewish Nationhood, so can exit. When Zionism ceases to be the expression of the historic Jewish Nationhood, it ceases to be itself.*

A people may constitute no nation at law, possess no legal nationality, but be endowed with the capacity of nationhood. Such a nationhood expresses not actual but potential nationality. The reconstitution of a nationality, in the case of a people whose potential nationhood has continued without intermission, is readily capable of being visualised. There must be an essential congruity between the past and the future of a people to find the world forces of history coinciding in the evolutionary

* A distinction should be drawn between Zionism as a movement for the Jewish Resettlement *in posse*, and the condition of the Jewish Resettlement *in esse*. With the Jewish Resettlement as a recognised commonwealth, the free citizenship of those of non-Jewish nationhood or faith is assured. Equality of citizen rights is the condition precedent to the charter of any national enfranchisement to-day. Thus, while the motive force of Zionism as a movement is the Jewish national consciousness, its realisation must obviously contemplate, as with a restored Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, the fellow-citizenship of those of other nationhoods.

processes which link tradition with aspiration. History points to the inherent nationhood of Israel—necessity demands some endeavour to secure the cohesion of an endurable Jewish entity—and intelligent humanity has largely appreciated the rationality of the basic principles, which have produced and expressed the great movement, culminating rather than originating in the organisation founded by Dr. Herzl. The ultimate question which requires consideration is not so much the existence of Jewish Nationhood, but the form in which that nationhood should find expression. The root principle of legal nationality consists in the unifying link of common allegiance with its attendant responsibilities and protection. Allegiance is the criterion of legal nationality, but it is perfectly consistent with a distinctive cultural or institutional nationality. Imperialism, which at first was regarded as the antithesis of Nationalism, is now beginning to be considered as a means of its expression. National protection, and therefore National integrity, depend often enough upon Imperial resources. Subject to the supreme dominion of the force to which allegiance is owed, distinctive national institutions can grow and be maintained under Imperial Government. And it is necessary to observe that a nation in the assertion of its identity need not be said to possess a “separate” culture—it may be regarded as an additional culture which it enjoys over and above the culture of those other groups with which it may be politically associated. Canada, Australia, South Africa, are none of them legal nationalities—but all of them have developed and realised their nationhood. South Africa particularly illustrates the additional cultural idea, for the Dutch South African has acquired a South African national point of view together with his additional Dutch African culture. Thus we acquire the idea of a “nationality” apart

from the principles of International Law. Nationality demands a centre for the group, although its members radiate throughout the world.*

Nationality is an idea of no great antiquity in Europe. It is useful to keep this in mind in face of the insistent contentions of antagonists of Jewry who are perpetually declaring that Israel has no appreciation of the idea of nationality. History in fact shows that Israel possessed the idea thousands of years before Europe exhibited any manifestations of national consciousness. It may be that Europe has developed a species of the national genus which differs from the species of Israel—but the European species, in its main characteristics, is incidental to the exigencies of the history of the West, just as Israel's species is similar to the forms characteristic of the East. The distinction too is not quite of such reality as it appears—for the idea of one legal national entity with one faith found some approach towards actuality in the Roman Empire, and only political and spiritual schism, rendered more intricate by the great invasions, prevented that synonymy of Nation and Faith which is characteristic of the East.

M. Cogordan in *La Nationalité* points out the recent origin of the term Nationality, and that it appears in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* for the first time in the edition of 1835. Dr. Seignobos in his *History of Mediæval Civilisation*, page 180, observes that

The sentiment which we call patriotism had been unknown among the inhabitants of Europe during the first centuries of the Middle Ages. . . . No one could have any patriotism, for the idea of a *patrie* or fatherland did not exist—that is, the idea of a great country to which one may be attached, no matter what or to whom the men may be who govern it. Therefore they had no

* The whole subject is eloquently set forth in General Smut's speech, "The British Commonwealth of Nations," delivered 15th May, 1917. Since published by Hodder & Stoughton.

scruples in passing over from the service of the King of France to that of the Emperor or of the King of England.

Such a circumstance is not unknown among antagonists of Jewry, and it is rather surprising to find such antagonists professing to be exponents of patriotism. Dr. Seignobos proceeds to point out that "The national sentiment appeared in France for the first time during the Hundred Years War." It was evidently at first a negative point of view, unity arising from action against a common opponent. Dr. Seignobos refers to Alain Chartier as the first to employ the word "patrie." The works of Renan and Leroy Beaulieu are very valuable for the consideration of nationality and show that the idea of nationality is not indigenous so far as Europe is concerned (See Renan—*Qu'est-ce qu'une Nation?* Leroy Beaulieu—*Israel among the Nations*).

A passage from Professor Cushman's *History of Philosophy* (vol. i., page 212) dealing with the position of the Athenian in the period of the Hellenistic-Roman philosophy, is very valuable in its points of analogy to the Jewish position to-day.

With his entrance into world-wide relations in the Ethical period (322 B.C.E.—1 C.E.), the Athenian found himself confronted with a very different situation from that which engaged him during the age of Pericles (444–429 B.C.E.). His national existence had gone and could no longer arouse his devotion, and with it his ideal of a national life had crumbled to pieces. His epic polytheism had become a dim thing of the distant past, and there was no longer any external Greek institution to awaken his slumbering energies. He might of course go into retirement and engage in speculative enquiry; except that this was an age of pressing need. He was forced to awake and adjust himself as an individual to the many other peoples mixing and mingling in one common civilisation. His relations were enlarged but his interests were circumscribed. His philosophy was focussed to the fundamental problem—What after all is the object of human life, and what can give happiness to the individual amid the turmoil of the time?

This is written with reference to the period 322 B.C.E.—476 C.E. How applicable to the 19th and 20 Century in Jewry!

The view that the development of Jewish Nationhood would lessen the breadth of outlook of the Jewish individual is philosophically unsound. Professor Cushman observes (page 217):—

The man who conceives his duty so large that it embraces the whole world is usually cold to any special interests except his own.

Jewry has nationhood manifested in its universal culture—its language, its historic national celebrations, its ethnic psychology, its specific social consciousness—which, while it would be inaccurate to say could not be exclusively referable to the associations of its faith, are in fact only referable in so far as its faith is not a mere dogma, but a civilisation in itself.

In its modern manifestations the Jewish National movement had an English-speaking beginning, for early in the 19th century an American Jew named Mordecai Manuel Noah evolved plans for the Resettlement of Jewry in the ancient homeland. The first record of a printed book of a non-Jew dealing with the practical idea of the Resettlement is that of an Englishman, in 1852, named Hollingsworth, who advocated the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, urging it as a matter of much moment to Great Britain for the purpose of safeguarding the overland route to India. Colonel Gawler, a British officer, in the same year advocated the same plan, and in 1854 a Palestine Land Company was formed in which a Jew named Solomon Sequerra, and a non-Jew, Alfred Hall, appear to have been joint promoters. Lord Shaftesbury favoured the project, much on the lines of the British Palestine Committee of to-day. Alexandre Dumas Fils, in one of his plays, *La femme de Claude*, deals

with the same idea, while Dunant, the French-Swiss founder of the Red Cross and inspirer of the Geneva Convention, went as far as founding an International Palestine Society and a Syrian and Palestine Colonisation Society for this purpose. Another French-speaking enthusiast was Abraham Pétavel, a Protestant pastor, who wrote a poem and is regarded as the author of an anonymous pamphlet on the subject. An Italian patriot, Benedetto Musolino, sketched a plan for the re-settlement, pointing out its value for Britain as well as for Jewry. Thus, England, France, and Italy united in their interest for the principle of nationhood over fifty years ago. George Eliot in *Daniel Deronda*, and D'Israeli in *David Alroy* made the Zionist-idea the basis of their books, while Laurence Oliphant, whose writings are classic on the subject, carried his enthusiasm to the point of personal residence among the Jewish colonists in Palestine. Colonel Conder and Lord Kitchener represent those of a later period who, through Palestine exploration, like Lord Cromer through his pro-consulship, were brought in touch with the Jewish re-settlement. Liverpool acclaimed as a citizen one of the most eminent of English residents in Palestine, the late Sir John Gray Hill, who became an influential advocate of the Jewish Resettlement—a work which is splendidly perpetuated by Lady Gray Hill.

The Jewish history of organised effort in furtherance of the Resettlement, effort which has been maintained uninterruptedly, dates from the foundation of the Alliance Israelite in Paris in 1860, the first English branch of which was formed in Liverpool in 1867 by my father, the late Baron Louis Benas, J.P. (a former occupant of the distinguished office of President of this time-honoured and learned Society), who visited Palestine in company with the late Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, C.V.O., in 1885. This

branch was the pioneer centre of the Anglo-Jewish Association, founded in 1871. The foundation of the Alliance and its sister organisation was the most significant contribution to Jewry of modern times, paving the way for great future developments. In 1870 the Alliance founded the Agricultural School "Mikveh Israel" in Palestine, near Jaffa, largely due to the inspiration of Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, a Polish Rabbi, who was thus the promoter of the first practical endeavour towards the Resettlement.* The school was the nursery of the thousands of successful Jewish colonists in Palestine.† In 1878 an International Jewish Conference was held by the Alliance in Paris, when an International Palestine Committee was formed, of which my father was a member. The development of Palestinian Resettlement was a main subject of consideration. In 1884 a Conference convenient for East European Jewry was held in Poland, consolidating the various societies there flourishing into the Montefiore Foundation (so named after Sir Moses Montefiore, a Palestinian of Palestinians in devotion to the sacred Jewish traditions of the land), which subsequently in 1887 merged into the Chovevei Zion (lovers of Zion), bringing many Western organisations into line. In 1890 the Committee for Promotion of Agriculture and Handicrafts among the Jews of Syria and Palestine was founded in

* The work of Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer was to some extent anticipated in the writings of Rabbi Jndah Alcalay, of Semlin (on the Serbian frontier), one of the earliest of the pioneers of practical Zionism in European Jewry. A near kinsman is the present Chief Rabbi of Serbia, Dr. I. Alcalay, who is well known in England through his visits on behalf of the cause of his native country and of the Jewish people. Dr. Alcalay is an ardent upholder of the Jewish National Movement, and an enthusiastic advocate of the revival of Hebrew as a living language.

† For a narrative of the history of the Jewish Colonies in Palestine, and the work of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the "Doyen of Jewish Nationalists," on behalf of the Resettlement, see *Palestine—the Rebirth of an Ancient People*, by Albert M. Hyamson.

Odessa. The crowning achievement of all was the establishment of the Zionist Organisation at Basle in 1897 by Dr. Theodor Herzl.

It may be now a convenient opportunity to recount the progress and development of the movement from the time since its leader, Herzl, passed away in 1904, and to trace the evolution of the scope of the organisation's activity. In the early period of the Zionist congresses it would be quite accurate to refer to Herzl's movement as the new Zionism—and it serves a useful purpose to remind the reader that there existed Zionism and Zionists before Herzl. Although it could be said that Herzl originated the movement as then established, and had shown sagacity as a statesman in adopting Zionism as its title,* Zionism itself and the movement on behalf of Zionism, even in the modern meaning of the term, were clearly pre-Herzlian. There were conferences and associations devoted to similar endeavour before Herzl, as shown previously, and the question then raises itself as to the nature of the particular element in the great leader's movement which gave to it a position unlike anything of which Jewish history affords an illustration. Theodor Herzl was the genius of Jewish organisation. Jewry had organisations—it needed organisation. It had movements—it needed a movement. The writing of Herzl's *Jewish State*—the historic document of the modern movement—his summoning of the first Congress—the establishment of the Basle Programme, “the attainment for the Jewish people of a legally secured, publicly recognised home in Palestine”—the foundation of the Zionist Organisation—these are all matters of record in the record.

* The term “Zionism” appears to have been first used by Nathan Birnbaum in 1886. Birnbaum was one of the pioneers of the Jewish National Movement which characterised the period.

of Jewry. There were two main currents in the stream which constituted Zionism—one was the current of renationalisation, and the other was the current of re-settlement. The current of re-nationalisation strove for the re-establishment of a centre of Jewish nationhood—the current of re-settlement strove for the re-acquisition of the ancient homeland of Jewry. As an article suggested in the *Jewish World*,* some desired to bring Palestine to the service of Jewry, and others desired to bring Jewry to the service of Palestine. Both, however, united in this—that they had as their ideal an impersonal objective—the one emphasised the re-establishment of a centre of nationhood, the other emphasised the re-acquisition of the land. Both, while recognising that the re-establishment of a centre and the re-acquisition of the land each require a humanity to people the place, regarded as subsidiary and incidental the fact that the places might well be filled by those who found no *pied-à-terre* where they then dwelt. That, however, the realisation of either ideal would, in fact, afford a land of comfort for the storm-tossed of Jewry, brought into the movement as many of those whose desire to aid was not negatived by a refusal to subscribe to the doctrine of the renascence of Jewish nationhood—the solid foundation upon which the whole structure of Zionism was based. It was at this period, when the two main currents were in full power and the rills and rivulets of sympathy with the storm-tossed flowed into the stream of the movement, that the El Arish and East African questions arose, and their consideration led to the review of the whole ambit of the Zionist Organisation. That circumstances did not allow of their adoption in no way detracts from the recognition of the incidents as the outstanding events of Jewish life since

* "Zionism in England," by "One who knows," *Jewish World*, May 28, 1913.

the Diaspora, incidents adding honourable pages to the history of the British Empire and of Jewry.

Into the hands of Lord Cromer, as British Agent in Cairo, there fell the proposal made by Dr. Herzl of a Jewish Settlement in the El Arish Peninsula, between Egypt and Palestine; and, to quote the *Jewish World*, January 31st, 1917,

The sympathy and tenderness with which he helped the project because it was designed for the aid of the Jewish people, were remarkable. All the more so, because from the very first moment that the matter was placed before him through the Home Government he was of opinion that the scheme would prove, as in fact it did, unfeasible because of the natural disadvantages of the place. None the less, largely through his influence, a tentative agreement for the concession of a Jewish settlement was come to, and Lord Cromer's name will always be thus associated in the minds of Jews with the first public official recognition by one of the powers of the earth that, as a people, they were entitled to a *pied-à-terre* of their own.

And it may be here recorded that the press of England may claim a share in the credit for this, as for many other efforts which have enured to the public good. Mr. L. J. Greenberg, the present Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Jewish World*, conducted the negotiations between the Zionist organisation and the British Colonial Office in the matter of the East African project, Herzl having chosen the gifted man of letters and of action now, although not at the time, associated with the direction of the Anglo-Jewish Press, to be his representative during the important deliberations. After the disposal of the East African question, a large number of those to whom the necessity of an area of settlement for the storm-tossed of Jewry appealed, together with many who desired to establish without delay a centre of potential Jewish nationhood, reunited to form a Jewish Territorial Organisation for the

purpose, in effect, of taking up the work of the East African project left over by the Zionist Organisation, or any project of similar character. Just as some Zionists joined the Zionist movement, mainly because it served as a means for providing an area of settlement for the storm-tossed of Jewry, and least because it might be the means of the re-establishment of a Jewish National Centre, so some joined the Territorial movement, mainly because it might serve as a preliminary national centre—a place of muster—preparatory to a national re-settlement in Palestine, and least because the Territorial Organisation might provide an area of settlement for the storm-tossed of Jewry. It must be kept in view in considering these questions that it was not until 1908 that the new regime in the Ottoman Empire came into existence, and that previously the idea of a preparatory centre was more relevant to the main purpose of a renaissance of Jewish Nationhood than when conditions of re-settlement promised to be more favourable for the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Many also, who joined the Territorial Organisation, joined merely because it was an organisation which sought to provide an area of settlement for the storm-tossed of Jewry, and these were they who refused to join with the Zionist movement because of its nationalistic foundation. The result was remarkable and interesting. Within the ambit of the Territorial Organisation, it was quite possible to discern the forces of Nationalism and the antithetical elements in full play. Thus three spheres of Jewish effort could be marshalled—those who thought mainly of the ancient homeland remained alone in the Zionist movement—those who thought most of the National concentration were found in either sphere and sometimes in both, and those who thought merely of an area for settlement, and

composed the antithetical element to nationalism, were found alone in the Territorial Organisation.

The Territorial Organisation contained a large number of strong nationalists—but as the whole substratum of the Organisation rested upon the acquisition of a territory, the absence up to the present of one which has been both suitable and available has left those in the movement possessing the consciousness antithetical to nationalism with nothing territorial to deal with, while those who possessed full nationalist sympathies have retained their nationalism and found their natural sphere within the four corners of the Zionist movement. For if the material realisation of the objective of Zionism is represented by the terms of the Basle Programme, its paramount ideal is to be found in the definition of the movement given by Herzl himself, who, in the course of his opening address at the first Congress, said that Zionism was “first a return to the Jewish fold and then a return to the Jewish Land.” The Zionist is thus left with a living purpose, even when re-nationalisation in Palestine is not ripe for complete fulfilment. Herzl with remarkable insight and prediction forecasted in this phrase the trend of the evolution of the movement which he led. His practicality was always full of idealism, whereas many of his most acute critics displayed idealism rather than practicality. Thus it was that in the early days of the Herzlian leadership, the idealists opposed his political practicality, and Herzl placed the urgency of political practicality before the idealism of indefinite effort. Athwart the whole of the Herzlian organisation stood the spiritual nationalism of “Achad Ha’am,”* the Jewish thinker, whose philosophy

* The pen-name of Asher Ginzberg (“One of the People”), in his collection of Essays, *Al Parashath Derachim* (“At the Parting of the Ways”).

of Hebraism is the most far-reaching influence in contemporary Jewry. Achad Ha'am's aspiration for the establishment of a spiritual centre in the land of Israel by an Israel aiming at a Jewish "super-humanity" had points in common and yet more in conflict with the project of an *ad-hoc* political state, Western in form if Eastern in place, which the imagination of the earlier observers of the Herzlian movement pictured for themselves. And yet a spiritual centre, aimed at a "super-humanity", must commence with humanity as it is—it must have a beginning. Pre-Herzlian Zionism came to the aid. Pre-Herzlian Zionism strove for the foundations of the re-settlement of Palestine by groups. Pre-Herzlian Zionism lacked the organisation of a world-movement of Jewry—spiritual nationalism lacked the means of practicality. And so, as history so often illustrates, the interplay of all the forces, caused by the march of events, has given to the movement the strength of the three with the weaknesses of none of them. Pre-Herzlian Zionism—practical Zionism, as it is sometimes termed—would seem never to have won a world-wide appeal but for the gift of Herzl's genius for organisation. Political Zionism—as the earlier Herzlian movement has been called—would have left the whole movement unrecovered from the loss of its opportunities, had the Organisation not have been reinfused with the ideals of spiritual nationalism, which gave to it with redoubled energy an impersonal idealism in place of the idealistic personality of its departed leader. Zionism to-day is not the movement of the pre-Herzlians, neither is it as Herzl left it, nor does it represent exclusively the philosophy of Achad Ha'am. It is the Jewish National Movement—a broad river fed by many streams. If the Jewish National Movement, in its present magnitude, has been rendered possible through Herzl, and similarly the Jewish Renas-

cence which has sprung from the activities of that movement, recognition must be given to the fact that the idealistic aim and object of Zionism, as declared by Herzl, has been successfully attained. For Zionism had greater content than a desire to found a Jewish State for Jewry—it stood for the re-establishment of a Jewish State of Jewry. A renewed interest in Jewish Literature, a renewed inspiration of Jewish Art, of tradition and aspiration joined by a pride of consciousness having its source in wider and deeper knowledge of the mandate of history—these products of the Jewish National Movement have not merely increased the reception but called for the re-establishment of Jewish culture—the culture of Hebraism. The greatest phenomenon of the movement has been the revived development of Hebrew as a living language—a phenomenon to which the records of history do not readily supply a parallel.

There remains to be mentioned the practical work in Palestine with which the Zionist Organisation is associated. It has founded a Jewish Colonial Trust, an Anglo-Palestine Company, and an Anglo-Levantine Banking Company, the Palestine Land Development Company, and the Jewish National Fund. All these are companies under the English law, and are devoted as their names suggest to the regeneration of Palestine, and its cultivation once again, so that it may become, as of old, a land flowing with milk and honey. The funds have been supplied mostly by the moneys of the people themselves, and the holdings go to show that they are the savings of idealists, and not the investments or speculations of mere financial syndicates. Re-afforestation, town planning, garden cities, horticulture, viticulture, and agriculture generally, represent some of the activities developed by Zionist energy. Building societies are helping to deal with

the question of suitable housing accommodation, and a hygienic institute, working in association with a health committee of expert medical men, is grappling successfully with the work of transforming the land into a country of health. The British Diplomatic and Consular Reports upon the Trade of Palestine afford impartial testimony to the facts stated. They might well be regarded as the Blue Books of Zionist work in Palestine.

The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts at Jerusalem, under the direction of its founder, Professor Boris Schatz, is one of the most important projects due to the support of the Zionist Organisation. The school and workshops produce works of art infused with a real Jewish spirit, and the establishment of the foundations of a great school of Jewish Art has at last been realised. The beautiful tapestries and objects of applied art have created a deep impression upon those who have had the advantage of seeing the actual work. The large ateliers are producing an increasing amount of Palestinian ware to meet the demand which the beauty of the craftsmanship and the interest of the idea have created.

The Jewish Women's League for Cultural Work in Palestine has established a school for the making of lace. There is a farm school for women which is of great value to the economic development of the country.

Education is well considered, and there are fully-equipped schools. The last Zionist Congress dealt with the project of a Hebrew University, the seat of which would be at Jerusalem. It is not, of course, likely that the project will be capable of immediate realisation on a large scale, but it is felt that some beginning may be able to be made by way of co-ordinating the educational, scientific, and general cultural forces.

The most important Zionist institutions are English

companies, and Zionism is historically associated with England, not only through the El Arish and East African historic projects, but also because Dr. Herzl made some of the earliest of his Zionist efforts within the area of London Jewry. The Jewish re-settlement in Palestine is of particular interest to England and the Empire, having regard to the proximity of Egypt. The Jewish people in Palestine look with affection towards the influence of their British neighbours, and the Jewish Resettlement in Palestine appears to be of advantage in securing an element of population historically detached from international sectarian rivalries. This point of view has become an essential of the practical politics of the day, as evidenced by the foundation of the British Palestine Committee and its organ "Palestine." As Herzl said, "The Englishman were the right men to realise the Zionist idea."

Although the Zionist Movement has not yet enlisted the support of the whole of Jewry,* it is the fact that Zionism is the one organised positive world-movement of the Jewish people as a whole with a definite, practical, and cultural programme, and thus its cohesion and far-reaching ramifications enable it to represent a positive force and speak with an authoritative voice in the Jewish world.

* In considering the support accorded to Zionism, until the present World Crisis, a distinction must be drawn between those on the one hand who either were adherents of the Zionist Organisation or upheld the Zionist idea, and those on the other who were simply Jewish sectarians. There is no doubt but that the vast majority of Jewry uphold the Zionist idea. This is at present practically attested by the Jewry of the Allies. That there are many who uphold the Zionist idea, without belonging to the Zionist Organisation, is a phenomenon common to all popular efforts. In English political life, the adherents of a particular school of thought far out-number those officially associated with the "party" organisations. But the present World Crisis which has brought the Zionist idea up to the approaches of practical realisation has similarly brought out the sympathies of the Jewish people as a whole, and clearly shown that the Zionist standpoint is broad-based on the will of the majority of Jewry, leaving the opposition to a slender minority of unhistoric sectarians.

It has included among its powerful advocates and participants some of the most eminent of Jewish ecclesiastical dignitaries of all shades of Jewish spiritual opinion and practice, and the leading thinkers and scholars, and men of science in Jewry. The most distinguished of Anglo-Jewish Zionists, Lord Rothschild, F.R.S., is a life-member of this Society.

The opposition to the movement from within is somewhat difficult to rationalise upon abstract principle, the aloofness when coming from observers of traditional Judaism being often dictated by a repugnance to the anti-clericalism which, assimilated from environing non-Jewish agnosticism, is not altogether absent within the Zionist fold, while the antagonism to be found among the latitudinarians of Jewry is so entangled with the belief that Jewish nationalism is subversive of the basis upon which the civic emancipation of the Jews was granted that it obscures their examination of Zionism and prevents its survey with that degree of detachment from local incident necessary for its calm consideration. Thus the opposition appears either subjectively or objectively individualistic. It is perfectly fair to reply by an equally individualistic rejoinder. The learned Liverpool Rabbi, Rabbi S. J. Rabinowitz, one of the foremost upholders of strict traditionalism, is one of the most eminent of Zionists, while the President of the English Zionist Federation, Dr. Weizmann, is one of the leading members of the technical staff of the British Ministry of Munitions. Thus strict traditionalism and devoted citizenship are found co-existent with staunch Zionism—which in their living illustration negative the arguments of opponents. The re-settled Jewish State of the future is transfigured at one extreme by those who picture it as a utopia of unworldly mystics, and at the other extreme by those who caricature

it as the resort of antinomian visionaries. It is surely more natural to regard Jewry as ordinary normal humanity.

There are within the movement, as previously mentioned, currents of thought which, although they feed the Zionist stream in common, are divergent in species, if not in genus. A justifiable Herzlian political reaction has followed what was in its turn a justifiable practical and spiritual reaction to Herzl. The necessity of political security of tenure has impressed itself upon Jewry as the result of the present World Crisis. Political Zionism has to this extent justified itself that while practical Zionism may have pegged out the claim to the land, some semblance of political security has been proved to be necessary even to ensure the tenure of private property. Thus the winning of the land may be done on practical lines, but to be of value there must be maintenance of that which has been built up. The practical, the political, and the spiritual are not so many separate parts of the Jewish National Movement—they overlap—they constitute the whole. Adherents who were not practical would not participate; if they were not political they would work sporadically, without cohesion, without purport; if they were not spiritual in the philosophic sense, they would never have given the movement a thought.

Non-Jewry seems instinctively convinced of the rationality of the Jewish National Movement. Recent books upon the Hapsburg Monarchy, now in a state of progressive crumbling, seem to concentrate their criticism of Austrian Jewry upon the allegation of the lack of a sense of nationality. Mr. Wickham Steed in his *Hapsburg Monarchy*, Dr. Seton Watson in his article *Issues of the War* in *The War and Democracy*, and notably Signor Gayda's aggressive *Modern Austria* sound the same note. Signor Gayda contrasts the Jew with the Greek, and contrasts him unfavourably, for the Greek "has always the

vision of a great Greece to illuminate him. . . . The Jew has not this passion of nationality, but perhaps he has lost it. While all the other races in Austria defend their language and their historic rights and rally round an ethnical principle, which is their political flag, the Jew is alone incapable of thinking about the recognition of a province, or even the question of a Jewish University." That Signor Gayda's generalisation is wide of the mark is obvious, for Herzl, the founder of the Zionist Organisation, lived much of his life in Vienna, giving much recognition to a "province" and "to the question of a Jewish University", while through Zionist opposition to the Teutonisation of Palestine, Hebrew has ousted German from becoming the dominant language of Jewry in the Ancient Homeland. Dr. Seton Watson writes:

Just as we hope and believe that one result of this war will be the emancipation of Germany and German "culture" from the corroding influences of militarist doctrine, so there are good grounds for hoping that it will also give a new and healthy impetus to Jewish national policy, grant freer play to their many splendid qualities, and enable them to shake off the false shame which has led men who ought to be proud of their Jewish race to assume so many alien disguises, and to accuse of anti-Semitism those who refuse to be deceived by mere appearances. It is high time that the Jews should realise that few things do more to foster anti-Semitic feeling than this very tendency to sail under false colours and conceal their true identity. The Zionist and the orthodox Jewish nationalist have long ago won the respect and admiration of the world. No race has ever defied assimilation so stubbornly and so successfully, and the modern tendency of individual Jews to repudiate what is one of their chief glories suggests an almost comic resolve to fight against the course of nature.

Mr. Justice Brandeis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, a distinguished exponent of Zionism, observes that the Zionist Movement has brought inspiration

to the Jews in the Diaspora, and quotes Mr. Wickham Steed's passage in *The Hapsburg Monarchy* in support :

. . . Zionism came with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it ; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution ; to look the world frankly in the face and to enjoy the luxury of moral and intellectual honesty ; to feel pride in belonging to the people that gave Christendom its divinities, that taught half the world monotheism, whose ideas have permeated civilisation as never the ideas of a race before it, whose genius fashioned the whole mechanism of modern commerce, and whose artists, actors, singers, and writers have filled a larger place in the cultured universe than those of any other people. This, or something like this, was the train of thought fired in youthful Jewish minds by the Zionist spark. Its effect upon the Jewish students of Austrian universities was immediate and striking. Until then they had been despised and often ill-treated. They had wormed their way into appointments and into the free professions by dint of pliancy, mock humility, mental acuteness, and clandestine protection. If struck or spat upon by "Aryan" students, they rarely ventured to return the blow or the insult. But Zionism gave them courage. They formed associations, and learned athletic drill and fencing. Insult was requited with insult, and presently the best fencers of the fighting German corps found that Zionist students could gash cheeks quite as effectually as any Teuton, and that the Jews were in a fair way to become the best swordsmen of the university. To-day the purple cap of the Zionist is as respected as that of any academical association.

This moral influence of Zionism is not confined to university students. It is quite as noticeable among the mass of the younger Jews outside, who also find in it a reason to raise their heads, and, taking their stand upon the past, to gaze straightforwardly into the future.

The growing recognition of Jewish Nationhood from friendly and appreciative observers is not merely a sign of pro-Semitism, but of the solidity of the foundations upon which the new re-nationalisation of the world is being built.

"No serious politician doubts", observes an eminent

Jewish writer, Mr. Elkan N. Adler, "that our people have a political future. And no serious thinker can see anything illogical in our continuing a belief in our restoration to autonomy with passionate loyalty to the land of our birth."* Both Biblical and Rabbinical authority incorporate within the Jewish Law obedience to the law of the state and the duties of citizenship. Jeremiah, the great Hebrew prophet, exhorts his brethren in Babylonia, "Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it, for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace" (Jer. xxix, 7), while the Rabbinic Sage, Mar Samuel, who flourished in Nehardea, Babylonia, between the years 165 and 257 of the present era, formulated the spiritual and juristic principle that it is a *Jewish* duty for Jewry to obey the laws of the country (Talmud Bab. Baba Kama, 113). That not only in letter but in spirit has this been realised among Zionists, is illustrated by the fact that the claims of citizenship appealed to Herzl's only son to this extent that he is now, as a British subject, a voluntary enlisted soldier in the British Army. That the ideals of a civilisation of a broad humanism were paramount to any sectional self-interest is shown by Herzl's refusal to refrain from denouncing Armenian persecutions in return for a Turkish charter of Palestine for Jewry.

To show that Herzl had the idealistic aspect of Palestine ever in sight, it is only necessary to read the work in which the great leader unfolded his aims, and the methods by which they were to be brought about. In the *Jewish State*, which has as its sub-title, "An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question", he repeatedly referred to the imaginative powers of Palestine, and the idealising potency of a Jewish re-settlement. "Next year in

* Introduction to *Aspects of the Hebrew Genius*; ed. by Leon Simon.

Jerusalem' is their old phrase", Herzl wrote (p. 12). "Now comes the opportunity to prove that the dream may be converted into a living reality". . . . "We shall not dwell in mud huts: we shall build newer and more beautiful houses, and possess them in safety. . . . We shall not sacrifice our beloved customs: we shall find them again." "We shall build in a bolder and more stately style than was ever adopted before, for we now possess means which were never yet possessed." "Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvellous potency." (p. 29). "Over there the houses . . . will be newer, more beautiful and more comfortably fitted" (p. 33). "The workmen's dwellings . . . will resemble neither those melancholy workmen's barracks of European towns, nor those miserable rows of cabins which surround factories The detached houses in little gardens will be united into attractive groups in each locality. The natural conformation of the land will rouse the ingenuity of our young architects, whose ideas have not yet been cramped by routine; and even if the people do not grasp the whole import of the plan, they will at any rate feel at ease in their loose clusters. The Temple will be visible from long distances, for our faith it was that united us in old days. There will be light, attractive, healthy schools . . . conducted on the most approved modern systems. There will be continuation schools for workmen, which will educate them up to greater technical knowledge" (p. 36). "About a hundred different types of houses will be executed, and of course repeated. These beautiful types will form part of our propaganda" (p. 44). "We shall proceed in everything else in the same humane spirit, making of the new land a land of experiments and a model state" (p. 96).

Referring to the ideal as a whole, and its influence upon Jewry, Herzl wrote: "They will awaken from gloomy brooding, for into their lives will come a new significance" (p. 101). "A wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabeans will rise again" (p. 102). Herzl realised with perfect insight that the solution of a Palestinian re-settlement did not lie alone in the establishment of a purely agricultural population. He wrote in the *Jewish State* (p. 19): "Whoever were to attempt a conversion of the Jews into a husbandman would be making an extraordinary mistake." This wide statement, in the light of prior and subsequent experience, no doubt requires re-interpretation to this extent, that to expect the majority of Jewish people to become agrarianised is neither necessary nor possible. "It is absurd and indeed impossible to make modern peasants on the old pattern", said Herzl (p. 20). "The Jews are perfectly justified in refusing to stir, when people try to agrarianise them." It is a fact, however, that Jewish people can be successful agriculturists; but it is noteworthy that the most successful of the transatlantic Jewish colonies are those which combine industrial and agricultural efforts. This instance of the more developed sense of humanity to which mankind generally is attaining, and beneath which the Jewish people decline to exist, is one which makes for the success of Palestine re-settlement. The cultivation of garden cities of handicrafts provides healthy, natural, and humane lives and livings—centres from which can radiate the inspiration of a new and yet old civilisation.

The living illustration of the persistence of Jewish Nationhood throughout the centuries testifies to the historic sacredness of national preservation, and among the thoughtful has been no inconsiderable contributory to the maintenance of that spirit which has made the cause of

the small nations of the world the means of the assertion that right is might, and not might all in all. Zionism, while the expression of a national idea, is altruistic in its ultimate workings, for behind all Herzl's efforts there lay the hope of the foundation of a better order of life and living in the chance that the opportunity would confer of the endeavour to realise the prophetic ideals of social justice.

Israel may do something more in Palestine than transform our Jewish mankind into a nationality—it may do something to transform nationality among mankind—that humanity may not be merely aggregates of the nations, but that nations may be aggregates of Humanity.

ERRATA.

Page 112, instead of "p. 42," read p. 114.
Page 115, instead of "p. 39," read p. 111.
Page 121, instead of "adent." read ardent.
Page 131, instead of "p. 42," read p. 114.
Page 132, instead of "p. 40," read p. 112.
Page 146, instead of "cmoe," read come.

, 1917.

THE JEWS AND PALESTINE.

DECLARATION BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

SUPPORT FOR ZIONIST ASPIRATIONS.

"A NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE."

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has transmitted to Lord Rothschild the following letter :—

FOREIGN OFFICE,
November 2nd, 1917.

DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD,—I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet :—

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

From the Jewish Chronicle, March 8, 1918.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH DECLARATION.

SPECIFIC ASSURANCES FROM M. PICHON.

M. Sokolow has received the following letter, enclosing the declaration appended, from M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Republic.

Ministère des
AFFAIRES ETRANGERES,
Direction des
Affaires Politiques,
et commerciales.

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE,
PARIS, le 14 février, 1918.

MONSIEUR,

Comme il avait été convenu au cours de notre entretien le samedi 9 de ce mois, le Gouvernement de la République, en vue de préciser son attitude vis-à-vis des aspirations sioniste tendant à créer pour les Juifs en Palestine un foyer national, a publié un communiqué dans la Presse.

En vous communiquant ce texte, je saisis avec empressement l'occasion de vous féliciter du généreux dévouement avec lequel vous poursuivez la réalisation des vœux de vos coréligionnaires, et de vous remercier du zèle que vous apportez à leur faire connaître les sentiments de sympathie que leurs efforts éveillent dans les pays de l'Entente et notamment en France.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, les assurances de ma considération très distinguée.

(Signé) S. PICHON.

M. SOKOLOW,
Hotel Meurice, Paris.

[ENCLOSURE.]

PARIS, le 9 février, 1918.

Monsieur SOKOLOW, Représentant des organisations sionistes, a été reçu, ce matin, au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, par Monsieur Stéphane PICHON qui a été heureux de lui confirmer que l'entente est complète entre les Gouvernements français et britannique en ce qui concerne la question d'un établissement Juif en Palestine.

TRANSLATION.

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE,

Ministry for
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

PARIS, 14th February, 1918.

SIR,

As agreed in the course of our conversation on Saturday, February 9th, the Government of the Republic, with the object of defining its attitude towards the Zionist aspirations, which aim at creating a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine, has published a communiqué in the press.

In communicating to you the text thereof, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity of congratulating you on the generous devotion with which you pursue the realisation of the aims of your coreligionists, and of thanking you for the zeal you show in making known to them the feelings of sympathy which their aims arouse in the Allied countries and especially in France.

Kindly accept the assurance of my very distinguished consideration.

(Signed) M. PICHON.

[ENCLOSURE.]

PARIS, 9th February, 1918.

Monsieur Sokolow, representative of the Zionist Organisation, was received this morning at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, by M. Stephen Pichon, who was pleased to confirm to him that there was complete agreement between the French and British Governments concerning the question of a Jewish Home in Palestine.

From The Jewish Chronicle, May 17, 1918.

ITALY AND JEWISH NATIONALISM.

ACCORD WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DECLARATION.

The Marquis Imperiali, the Italian Ambassador in London, has addressed the following letter to M. N. Sokolow:—

Londra li 9 Maggio 1918.

PREGIATISSIMO SIGNORE,

D'ordine di Sua Eccellenza il Barone Sonnino, Ministro per gli Affari Estrei del Re, ho l'onore d'informarla che, in relazione alle domande che gli sono state rivolte, il Governo di Sua Maestà è lieto di confermare le precedenti dichiarazioni già fatte a mezzo dei suoi rappresentanti a Washington, l'Aja, e Salonico, da essere cioè disposto ad adoperarsi con piacere per facilitare lo stabilirsi in Palestina di un centro nazionale ebraico, nell'intesa però che non ne venga nessun pregiudizio allo stato giuridico e politico che gl'Israeliti già godono in ogni altro paese.

Gradisca, Pregiatissimo Signore, gli atti della mia Distintissima considerazione.

IMPERIALI.

Signor Nahum Sokolow,
35-38 Empire House,
175, Piccadilly, W. 1.

[TRANSLATION.]

M. Nahum Sokolow,	Italian Embassy, London,
35-38, Empire House,	9th May, 1918.
175, Piccadilly, W. 1.	

DEAR SIR,—On the instruction of His Excellency Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to inform you that with reference to your representations His Majesty's Government is pleased to confirm the Declarations already made through their representatives in Washington, The Hague, and Salonika, to the effect that they will use their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Centre

[*un centro nazionale ebraico*] it being understood that this shall not prejudice the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Pray accept, my dear Sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

IMPERIALI.

APPENDIX II.

From Palestine, the Organ of the British Palestine Committee, February 9, 1918.

The British Palestine Committee seeks to reset the Ancient Glories of the Jewish Nation in the Freedom of a New British Dominion in Palestine.

THE JEWISH COMMISSION TO PALESTINE.

At the annual conference of the English Zionist Federation, Dr. Weizmann, the president, announced that the British Government has approved the sending to Palestine immediately of a Zionist Commission representing the Zionists of the Allied countries. The Commission is to be an advisory body in relation to the military authorities on all matters relating to the reconstruction of the Jewish settlement in Palestine and Jewish matters generally, and on all questions bearing on the reconstitution of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people. Among the new matters into which they will enquire, and on which they will report, is the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a project dear to the heart of every Jew, and a solemn pledge to the world of the true character of Jewish nationalism. The terms of reference of the Commission seem wisely drawn, and the Commission has at once one of the most fascinating and the most responsible tasks with which a body of Jews could be entrusted. We wish it all success in its noble undertaking.

From the Jewish Chronicle, March 8, 1918.

THE PALESTINE COMMISSION.

DR. WEIZMANN RECEIVED BY THE KING.

The Commission which the Government is arranging to be sent out to Palestine started this week. It is proceeding to Palestine in order to co-ordinate Jewish interests there and formulate some plan for carrying out the intentions of the Government as to founding there a Jewish National Home, and consists of Dr. Weizmann, the Chairman; Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Israel Sieff (who is to act as Secretary), Mr. Leon Simon, Dr. M. D. Eder, representing the Jewish Territorial Organisation, while Capt. the Hon. Ormsby Gore, M.P., will accompany the Commission in behalf of the Government.

On Monday, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as Chairman of the Commission, had the honour of being received in audience at Buckingham Palace by H.M. the King.

The objects of the Commission are stated as follows:—

The Commission should represent the Zionist Organisation. It should act as an advisory body to the British authorities in Palestine in all matters relating to Jews or which may affect the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, in accordance with the Declaration of His Majesty's Government. The objects of the Commission should be—

(1) To form a link between the British authorities and the Jewish population of Palestine;

(2) To co-ordinate the relief work in Palestine and to assist in the repatriation of exiled and evacuated persons and refugees;

(3) To assist in restoring and developing the colonies, and in organising the Jewish population in general;

(4) To assist the Jewish organisation and institutions in Palestine in the resumption of their activities;

(5) To help in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities;

(6) To collect information and report upon the possibilities of the future development of the Jewish settlement and of the country in general;

(7) To inquire into the feasibility of the scheme of establishing a Jewish university.

In order to be able to achieve the foregoing objects the Commission must have permission, subject to military necessities, to travel, investigate, and make reports upon the above-mentioned matters.

From Palestine, March 16, 1918.

THE PALESTINE COMMISSION.

The English members of the Zionist Commission started on their memorable enterprise last week. On the day of departure Dr. Weizmann, the Chairman of the Commission, had the honour of being received by the King, who, for thirty-five minutes, discussed with him the various aspects of the Jewish national cause. His Majesty revealed an intimate acquaintance with, and a deep interest in, Jewish nationalism and the Commission's task. This will not surprise the initiated, for during the crisis of the Government's deliberations on the issue of the historic Declaration the King made a personal study of the matter. The audience given to Dr. Weizmann as Chairman of the Commission is a symbol and a seal of the high moral and political importance which the British Government attaches to the restoration of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

APPENDIX III.

(A.)

From Palestine, February 9, 1918.

THE JEWISH UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM.

No more significant statement was made at the historic Conference of the English Zionist Federation, held at the beginning of this week, than that in which Dr. Weizmann made public the purchase of a site for the future Jewish University of Jerusalem. The history of the Jewish University Movement, when it comes to be recorded, will read like a romance—and not least in keeping with the poetic justice of the narrative is the fact that it has fallen to Dr. Weizmann, a veritable protagonist in the cause for the establishment of

a World-Jewish Academic Centre in Palestine, to proclaim the glad tidings of the acquisition of its home. It was an article by Mr. Benas on the subject of the University ("A Jewish University in Jerusalem"), contributed to the *Jewish Review*, in July, 1913, that first called the attention of the late Sir John Gray Hill to the matter, with the result that Sir John, upon what proved to be his last visit to his Jerusalem residence on the Mount of Olives, came into touch with leaders of the Jewish National Movement in Palestine, and the basis of the negotiations was then laid which ultimately led to a successful conclusion. The very day after the deliverance of Jerusalem, the necessarily interrupted thread of negotiations was resumed.* Not tarrying for the peace, but within sound of the guns, Jewry asks His Majesty's Government (like Jochanan Ben Zaccai of old, who craved leave of Imperial Rome to build a school at Jabneh-Jamnia) to permit "full investigation into the feasibility of the scheme for founding a Jewish University in Palestine, and, should military and political exigencies permit, to take steps for the initiation of the undertaking." The British reply of God-speed is at once a tribute to the petitioned and to the petitioner. Is it not typical of the Jewish spirit to seek as the first foundation in its old-new land a home for things of the mind? Such a petition was to be expected from Jewry, with its age-long strongholds in its colleges. Such a reply was to be expected from Britain, which symbolised its work in the Sudan by a college in Khartoum. The following words of the late Sir John Gray Hill, contained in an address entitled "Zionism, Jerusalem and the Holy Land," illustrate the manner in which the idea is envisaged by one not of the Jewish people—

" Do let it be a beautiful building. There is a great want of beautiful buildings in Jerusalem. . . . In the building of your University you might even rival the beauty of the Mosque of Omar. You have a great opportunity in this matter. Cannot you attract the attention of some very wealthy Jews to this great project? Whatever objections they have to Zionist projects generally, cannot possibly apply to this. What a noble monument it would be to a millionaire or a group of millionaires—those mighty kings of finance who are so powerful in Europe—to erect and endow a splendid University for the Hebrew race. If they were appealed to, they would, I think, listen. Surely they would not take for their motto the injunction addressed by the

* See the article in the *Zionist Review*, reprinted on p. 42.

followers of Solomon to the Bride from Tyre: 'Forget also thine own people and thy father's house.' No, that cannot be; I think if the matter is properly represented to them a response will come. I believe also that a true and wise view of Zionism is growing in force. The cause is moving at last."

The opportunity, however, now presents itself to consider in more detail the purposes which the University is intended to serve. First, and we shall consider them chronologically as existent circumstances determine, there is the restoration of the country to its normal life. We have witnessed during the present world crisis the enormous part which the Universities have played in applying the arts and the sciences to the demands of war. At the Peace, and on its threshold, we shall be certain to behold the far-reaching claims which reconstruction will make, claims more intensive, more extensive. Palestine needs doctors, engineers, architects, biologists, chemists, botanists, geologists. Secondly, the work to be achieved by the University for the inhabitants of the Jewish national home has to be considered. Its part will be all-important. It will be both the reflective and directive force in the Jewish national life—bridging the various elements and co-ordinating the various kindred institutions. Thirdly, we may consider the effect of the University on Jewry in Diaspora. By the linking of the Resettlement and the Diaspora, the University with its University Press and University extension system "radiating its light and attracting its force from a Jewish environment," can revitalise Jewry the world over—raising a norm for Jewish education, creating a standard of the Hebrew language, and giving a sense of reality to the striving for the maintenance of Hebraism as a distinctive element. University extension centres will be established throughout the Jewries of the world, making of them living branches of the great Tree of Knowledge in Palestine, a Tree which will be both a Tree of Knowledge and a Tree of Life. Fourthly, there is to be considered the effect of the University upon the other nations of the world—whether indwellers in the Jewish national home or abroad. To them Jewry, which signalled the restoration to its inheritance by the establishment of a Temple of Learning, will re-appear in its natural light. No longer will Jewry be regarded as in the position of a negative attitude to the world. In the Occident Jewry is too often envisaged as consisting of those not of Christendom—in the Near East as of those not of Islam. Jewish nationalism envisages Jewry as something positive—and the Jewish University will be the

expression of that spirit of Jewish nationhood centred in the Jewish national home. It will be the centre of Jewish humanism, which unites Jewry in fellowship with the free peoples of the world, in fellowship to enrich the civilisation of mankind.

(B.)

*From the Zionist Review, March, 1918.
The Organ of the English Zionist Federation.*

THE JEWISH UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM.

THE day after the deliverance of Jerusalem was proclaimed the present writer, in the capacity of counsel, had the privilege of drafting the agreement for the sale of the land upon the Mount of Olives, where the Jewish University is to be built. The idealism and the practicality of the Jewish National leaders were never more convincingly illustrated than in their decision that the day of the liberation of Judea's ancient capital was the day upon which the first of the foundations of the restored Jewish National Home should be laid, and that the first foundation should be the Temple of Learning. The land purchased was at one time the property of the late Sir John Gray Hill, of Liverpool, a former President of the Law Society, one of the most eminent English maritime lawyers, and a nephew of Sir Rowland Hill. At the opening of the Palestine Exhibition held in Liverpool in 1912, Sir John delivered an address, from which the following words may be quoted :—

“More than twenty years ago we bought a bit of land on the Mount of Olives, on the highest point in the hills which stand about Jerusalem, and there we built a house, and we have passed part of our time, and recently (as we are getting too old for adventures) all our holidays there, and we only returned from our beloved home to this dripping June of England last Saturday, so that I think we know something of Jerusalem and its people also. From our house we have, I think, the most glorious view in the world. On the one side we look down upon the Holy City and the great area where the Temple once stood, and the beautiful Mosque of Omar, built, no doubt, out of the remains of the Temple, now

stands. We also see the Church of the Sepulchre. On the other side we see spread before us the Wilderness of Judea, which descends to the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, 4,000 feet below us (for we are 2,700 feet above the Mediterranean, and the Dead Sea, which generally shows like one entire sapphire in the brilliant sunshine, is 1,300 feet below it), and the Mountains of Moab, with their great gorges and purple shadows. And to the north we see many of the Old Testament villages, Ramah, Mizpah, Michmash and others. Thus we look upon ground which attracts the greatest of human interest and the widest of human sympathies. If then we are enthusiastic about the Holy Land you will understand why Our place is called Ras Abou Kharoub, which means the head or eminence of the Father of Kharoub trees."

Thus it can be seen that the site of the University is one of the most historic and most beautiful of sites in the whole world. To the goodwill for the idea manifested by Lady Gray Hill, who has continued the late Sir John's cordial support of all Zionist work, and by their nephew, Sir Norman Hill, the possibility of completing the acquisition of the site, in the face of extraordinary difficulties created by the world cataclysm, is in a very considerable measure due, and they may be assured of the heartiest gratitude of those who have held the ideal of the University as of the foremost import for the future of Jewry.

How Sir John became acquainted with the University project and how ultimately his enthusiasm resulted in the negotiations now successfully completed has been narrated in a recent number of *Palestine*,* which justly observed that "The history of the Jewish University Movement when it comes to be recorded will read like a romance—and not least in keeping with the poetic justice of the narrative is the fact that it has fallen to Dr. Weizmann, a veritable protagonist in the cause for the establishment of a World-Jewish Academic Centre in Palestine, to proclaim the glad tidings of the acquisition of its home." The Jewish University Movement as the symbol of the Mind of Jewish Nationhood, like the symbols of the Matter of the Movement—the land projects, the building funds, and the trade developments—and like the symbols of the Spirit of the movement—the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts and the Academies of Music—is as much without parallel in the History of Peoples

* Reprinted on p. 39.

as is Jewry itself. For all these have had to be re-created—re-centred. The Heart alone of Jewish Nationhood has been preserved throughout the *Galuth*,* as Herzl said, “for we feel our historic affinity alone through the faith of our Fathers” (“A Jewish State,” p. 64).

The theoretic aspects of the University question have been fully considered in various spheres of Jewish thought with a most encouraging unanimity of approval,† even while regarded from varying subjective standpoints, and now on the threshold of its realisation the practical bearings of the new University upon Jewry and upon the new Judea call for review. If Palestine is to be once again the centre for the revival of Jewish Nationhood, Jewish Nationhood must once again give of itself for the revival of Palestine, and in the first place necessity demands that the Jewish University shall look to the needs of the land, in order that it may the better in the future look to the needs of the people.

“The practical value of the University for Palestine will be at once apparent to all in its potentialities for providing the land with the men of science necessary to develop its resources . . . for the equipment of its medical service and its legal system.”‡ “It is not necessary to urge the essential necessity of trained skill in the maintenance of the fabric of civilization. If it is needed in developed states, it is unnecessary to point out a *fortiori* its instant urgency for the progress of a comparatively undeveloped country. Thus those who are willing to co-operate in the regeneration of Palestine should not need to be convinced that a modern University has a paramount claim on their support. The place won by the University as an integral element in the fabric of life will have already convinced them of its necessity for Palestine.”§ Next, the needs of the Jewry of Palestine. The difference between a *Jewish* Palestine and a Palestine merely inhabited by Jews is the difference between a National Home for the Jewish people and a *Galuth* life transplanted to the ancestral soil. It will be the work of the University to impress the whole of the Jewish efforts and endeavours in the National Home with the stamp of the Jewish consciousness. It will, therefore, at once both direct and reflect the

* *Galuth* = *Diaspora*.

† Of available articles in English on the University, the following may be cited. From the non-Zionist standpoint—Dr. Israel Abrahams' “A University for Jerusalem,” in *Zionist Work in Palestine*, Ed. Israel Cohen. From the Zionist standpoint—H. Sacher's pamphlet, *A Hebrew University for Jerusalem*; Dr. Selig Brodetsky's article, “A Hebrew University in Jerusalem,” in *Zionism, Problems and Views*, and “A Jewish University in Jerusalem” (*Jewish Review* July, 1913), and “The Meaning of a Hebrew University,” in *Zionism and the Jewish Future*, both by the present writer.

‡ “The Meaning of a Hebrew University,” *supra*.

§ A Jewish University in Jerusalem,” *supra*.

thought and action of the resettlement as a whole. It will be a unifying force for all the Jewish educative agencies. While leaving in full play the individuality of each institution, it will co-ordinate the activities of each for the benefit of all. It will create a level of Jewish education not by pressure from above, but by the elevation of an ideal for attainment. But as the Jewish National Home is to be the centre of Jewish Nationhood, a rallying-point for the whole of Jewry, so the Jewish University will serve a purpose for the Jewish people as a whole. As the new Judea and the Diaspora will be linked by the memories of tradition and the fulfilment of aspiration, the visible token of the union will appropriately be found in the work of the University, which with its University Press and University Extension system will bring into closer relationship the Jewry within and the Jewry beyond the Jewish National Home. No school in the Diaspora will ultimately be entitled to be regarded as fully equipped that does not include upon its staff a representative of the Jewish University of Jerusalem, one trained within its walls and expressive of the undiluted Jewish national consciousness which will have therein its source. The University Extension centres in the Diaspora will create a Jewish higher education for the majority, capable of restoring the old Jewish ideal, which found its embodiment in the life of practical affairs combined with the pursuit of knowledge. Elementary Jewish education will receive a new standard—codified not upon a sinking but upon a rising foundation. The Hebrew language will become naturally regulated, and "Jerusalem Hebrew" will be the analogue of the "King's English." Those in the Diaspora will no longer feel themselves as the *dissecta membra* of a once united people, but as a living constituent of the corporate consciousness of recreated Jewry, whose concrete existence is manifest in the Jewish National Home.

"I think this new spirit which is arising," said Sir John Gray Hill in the Address previously quoted, "is of a most important character. Why not begin a new life of manliness?" The whole of the National Renaissance of to-day looks not merely to a more conscious upholding of the Jewish body, but to a more conscious upholding of the Jewish mind. Jewry bows in prayer, but many an assimilated Jew remembers the bowing but forgets the praying; he forgets the age-long prayers of his people for a renewed life in their ancient home, while he bows to the pressure either of environing non-Jewish assimilation or (what is more pathetic) of the material influence of his assimilated and de-Judaised brethren. To cure this "Slavery in Freedom," which Achad ha-Am has

so clearly diagnosed, is one of the foremost objects of the University. And Zionists in the Diaspora, together with non-Zionists, will need the remedy, for assuredly Zionists cannot deny that the complaint had made inroads into their ranks—only that Zionists recognize the effects of the shackles, while non-Zionists euphemistically explain them away. To the other nations of the world, whether inhabitants of Palestine or beyond, the University will present the Jew in the light in which alone he can be truly regarded—as one who has expressed the ideal of Faith in living Knowledge, who has expressed the ideal of Spirituality in living Humanism, who has expressed the ideal of Universalism in living Nationality, and who has expressed the ideal of Hope in “the world that is to be created anew.”

BERTRAM B. BENAS.

APPENDIX IV.

From Palestine, May 4, 1918.

The Beginnings of the Renaissance.

In 1885, the late Chief Rabbi travelled to Palestine, in company with the late Mr. B. L. Benas, of Liverpool. The records of this journey are of value, because they throw light on the beginnings of the new Jewish National Home in Palestine. The report by the late Mr. Baron Louis Benas is particularly significant in the testimony which it affords of the beginning of the revival of Hebrew as the language of conversation in Palestine, and of the general condition of the Resettlement in the 'eighties. Mr. Benas emphasised points of importance, which the subsequent growth of the Jewish life in Palestine has fully confirmed.

We select from the report the following :—

JAFFA.—Jaffa was reached on April 26th, and I at once, in company with Dr. Adler, visited the Mikveh Israel, or Agricultural School.

“The whole neighbourhood of Jaffa is most charming, full of the choicest exotics, whilst palms, citrons, and oranges

luxuriate everywhere. The vines are in splendid condition. Everything seems to flower there in profusion, even wild roses and poppies in the corn fields, whilst the fig takes the place of our bushes and thickets. There are some charming properties about Jaffa.

"As far as a model farm and beautifully-cultivated garden is concerned, the Mikveh Israel holds its own with any institution of its kind—I would almost say in Europe, and is a perpetual monument of the efforts of the late Mons. Netter.

"There are 240 hectares, mostly under cultivation. They produce excellent wine, which, I am informed, is sold at a good profit. They have oranges, lemons, and various other fruit trees, besides cereals. There are now thirty-five pupils in the school, one of whom is a Moslem. They have a carpenter's shop, where three boys are at constant work. They have thirty cows—ten giving a fully supply of milk. They have eight calves, two horses and ten mules to assist the agricultural operations, and a good supply of water and a complete system of irrigation.

"Everything in the establishment is thoroughly well kept. We were shown through the dormitories, and found twelve slept in each room, but the chambers were tolerably large.

"JERUSALEM.—I arrived at Jerusalem on the night of the 27th April. The first thing that strikes the visitor is the fact that Jerusalem is a Jewish city. The Jewish population has so steadily increased as to tower head and shoulders above all others; this can best be noticed on a Sabbath, when almost all the streets and bazaars are silent. The native-born Jewish population are in physique superior to their European co-religionists; they are taller, more dignified, and are decidedly of a handsome type. I am indebted for my statistics to M. Nissim Behar and the banker, M. H. Valero, both of these estimable gentlemen being natives of Jerusalem. The total population of Jerusalem is about 35,000. There are conflicting accounts as to the Jewish population; some put it at 20,000, others at 18,000.

"There are two Jerusalems, the one within the walls of the city, the other outside the Jaffa Gate, which has sprung into existence during the last five or six years, and inhabited almost exclusively by Jews. I am under-valuing rather than exaggerating when I state that the villas and residences outside the city are quite equal in neatness and in their inviting aspect to some of the best parts of the Cheshire side of the Mersey, which they much resemble.

"The Asiatic Jews are wealthy, and have mostly emigrated from the neighbourhood of Batoum, Poti and Tiflis. Their

residences might almost be described as attaining a degree of positive comfort. They are a large community, and are quite independent in their means; they have their own Rabbi, and give considerable assistance, when required, to their more indigent co-religionists. Credit must also be given to the Montefiore Testimonial Fund Buildings, which, if small, are decidedly clean and well kept.

"There are also the buildings of the Meah Shearim, a kind of building society, who have erected a large square block of tenements, which compare favourably with artizans' dwellings in Lancashire.

"The Judah Touro houses outside the city walls are fairly well kept, but, of course, the more modern houses have the advantage of superior construction. The defects in earlier constructions here have been carefully avoided.

"The Yemen Jews are very poor. They present a most peculiar ethnological type. They have a very dark complexion, almost of a deeper shade than that of the Arabs; they have beautifully chiselled features, lustrous eyes, are most simple in their piety and devotion to the Holy City. They still retain their manuscript prayer books, which Dr. Adler states are most interesting. Thanks to the exertions of Mr. Marcus Adler, who raised a fund in England, they are building cottages on the hill-side upon which they work themselves, and owing to their thrifty habits and aptitude for labour, it is to be hoped that their worst difficulties are passed, and that they will attain some degree of independence. There are two sets of tenements being built for them, the one by the London Committee and the other by the help of the society called 'Ezrath Nedachim.' I may add the Yemen Jews, both male and female, dress exactly like the native Arabs, from whom they are hardly distinguishable.

"When I write upon the Jewish tenements in the interior of the city my report, of course, must be less favourable. I took the means of going alone with M. Valero, when unexpected, into some of the back streets and slums of Jerusalem; I dropped into various houses here and there, and saw matters from a practical point of view. It is most unfair for anyone coming from Princes Park, Liverpool, or Kensington, London, or the Champs Elysees, in Paris, instituting a comparison between those neighbourhoods and the lanes of Jerusalem. But I maintain that the old streets in Marseilles and Florence, the Ghetto in Rome, the labyrinths in Naples, and the slums of Venice, are infinitely worse than the worst slums of Jerusalem. Nay, more, I maintain that the old Judengasse in Frankfort, the Judengasse in Worms, and some of the by-lanes in Vienna, are decidedly no better

than those of Jerusalem. They are more ancient and grimy than dirty; the absence of timber, and the constant employment of stone for building purposes in Old Jerusalem, gives a rough and jagged appearance to the walls, but there is nothing except the absence of drainage (and that is the same in every Continental city, whether it be in France, Italy, or Austria) that calls for special condemnation.

"The future prospects of Jerusalem rest entirely with the rising youth, and I shall speak later on the enormous value and high hopes I entertain of the Lionel de Rothschild School, conducted by the admirable and excellent director, M. Nissim Behar, of whose devotion, ability, and conscientiousness nothing too much can be said.

"The Lionel de Rothschild School, or 'Institution Israelite pour Instruction et Travail,' contains 140 pupils, all boys. The Institution is singularly fortunate in possessing M. Behar as its chief. To be able to effect good work in Jerusalem it is almost imperative to be a native of the city. A teacher from England, France, or Germany who has longings for Europe or his native land, however able he may be, or however zealous, is incapable of infusing enthusiasm in his pupils, and when one is found like M. Nissim Behar, who is a man of great culture, and combines Parisian refinement with an ardent love and patriotism for the city in which he was born, and feels that he has a mission to perform, and is perfectly oblivious to pecuniary advantages, it is to have already gained half of the victory.

"The pupils seem to love their chief with fervent affection. There are a few Moslem pupils on the establishment, and it is worthy of notice that they are equally ardent in their attachment to M. Behar. Even the most reactionary outsiders have nothing against the work or personal character of this successful school manager. Everything is neat, clean, and methodical.

"I shall devote my report principally to the course of technical education, with which I believe the future prosperity of the Jews of Jerusalem is bound up. No doubt the *chaluka* system in its more favourable aspect, namely, the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and of those who devote themselves to literary pursuits for *bona fide* purposes, will survive, but its worst features will in due course be eliminated.

"The Technical School contains a Forge, a Carpenter's Shop, a Cabinet-maker's Bench, a Tailor's Department, a Shoe-maker's Shop, a Turner's Lathe, a School of Art for modelling, drawing and sculpture, and a Gymnasium for physical development.

"Of these Schools, the Forge, the Carpenter's Shop, and

the School of Art have produced capital results. We saw Jewish lads, who have only been a few weeks at the classes, making some excellent sketches, and in order to test their genuineness gave them several impromptu subjects to execute in our presence, which they did admirably.

"The Forge is another successful institution.

"The teaching in the School, the Delegate Chief Rabbi informs me, is entirely to his satisfaction.

"Although the French language is the medium of tuition and the general language adopted, Hebrew is used side by side, not only as a language of prayer, but also a means of conversation. French, as a medium of inter-communication among Europeans and officials, is very much required in the East.

"The Girls' School—Evelina de Rothschild Institute—contains 184 girls.

"HEBRON.—The pleasure and hopefulness I experienced in Jerusalem present a marked contrast to the disappointment I felt at the abject position of the Jews in the City of Abraham. It takes about ten hours' hard riding to get there from Jerusalem. Hardly any roads, merely tracks, and these are wretched—full of huge stones, and exceedingly dangerous, especially at nightfall, even for roughshod horses. There are about a thousand Jews in Hebron, dreadfully poor.

"I met several Jews on the road who were trading with the neighbouring villages in butter and cheese; of course, their profits would be exceedingly small. The soil around Hebron is most fertile, and the natural resources of the immediate neighbourhood decidedly good. A few Jews are in comparatively affluent circumstances, but they are, however, utterly unable, single-handed, to organise anything to effect a permanent good.

"I venture to think that it is not eleemosynary aid that will do any real good for them. Food of all kinds, and wine of a good quality is abundant and very cheap. I believe the Jews would work hard if taught what to do. Technical and general education would very soon transform an abject congregation into a happy and prosperous community.

The report enables an estimate to be made to-day of the progress gained since then.

One of the most interesting experiences of the tour was the interview Dr. Adler and Mr. Benas had with the Governor, Reouf Pasha. The substance of the interview was fully reported in the *Jewish Chronicle* (May 15th, 1885).

One point in the interview is of particular historical value, and is here set forth:—

"Mr. Benas asked the Governor's opinion with regard to

the establishment of a tramway from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Such a rapid means of communication would confer many benefits on the country as well as on the Government. His Excellency agreed that a tramway must be of the utmost utility, but on this matter it will be necessary to address the Porte."

The travellers were met in Palestine by all the leading protagonists of the Resettlement, and upon their journey to the Holy Land visited Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who requested that they should prepare reports upon the progress of the work in which he had so long manifested a supreme interest.

A letter which Mr. Benas wrote to an eminent Jewish scholar clearly sets forth both the impressions and the aspirations evoked by Palestine and its Jewish Resettlement:—"I have great hopes," Mr. Benas wrote, "for the future of Palestine. The Colonies will in time become nurseries of men of simple habits and sterling qualities. Great events cannot be accomplished except by patiently awaiting results, even under temporary discouragement and disappointment. We must never forget that the United States of America was founded by 300 English refugees. I am not quite sanguine of immediate results . . . but I venture to think the second generation will fulfil our most sanguine expectations. The new Jerusalem outside the Jaffa gate is a veritable renaissance, and really as charming as an English suburb. I am not one of those enthusiasts who believe the six or eight millions of Jews will return to Palestine, but I do believe and hope that some day Jerusalem will return to the Jews. It is a hope, it may be a dream, but I will cherish it."

Accounts of the tour, it is interesting to note, appeared in almost every European language, while very full reports were to be found in the Hebrew Press of the day. The full record of Jewish travel to Palestine will show the perennial nature of the Jewish hope. It awaits an historian.

APPENDIX V.

From the Jewish Chronicle, July 19, 1918.

Welcome Meeting at London Opera House.

There was a memorable gathering at the London Opera House on Sunday afternoon (July 13th), when the American Zionist Medical Unit, on its way to Palestine, was welcomed at a great public meeting held under the auspices of the English Zionist Federation. Packed from floor to balconies, the building presented an animated spectacle, and the proceedings were marked throughout by the utmost enthusiasm. A storm of cheering broke out as the nursing sisters of the Unit filed on to the florally-adorned stage in their dainty snow-white uniforms, and were followed by the doctors in khaki. Members of the American Judeans, who obtained leave to be present, were accommodated with seats in the stalls, where their fine soldierly bearing formed the subject of general admiration.

LORD ROTHSCHILD presided, and was supported by the Right Hon. G. N. Barnes, M.P. (member of the War Cabinet), the Right Hon. Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M.P. (First Commissioner of Works), Commander J. Wedgwood, M.P., Mr. J. Malcolm (President of the Armenian National Council). Lord Rothschild, who was loudly cheered on rising to address the meeting, said: "We are met here to-day to extend a most cordial greeting and friendly welcome to the American Zionist Medical Unit. This Unit, in honour of which we are assembled here, owes its inception and formation to the women Zionists of America. It was equipped by them with a view of extending health and distributing relief to the suffering population of Palestine, irrespective of race or creed. (Cheers.) The work about to be undertaken enjoys the whole-hearted support of the United States, and of our own Government. America, by sending this Unit, has expressed her great interest in the regeneration of Palestine. Recognition of the noble mission of this Unit has been expressed already in various ways. Mr. Balfour has officially received the members. My friend, Sir Mark Sykes, has also given them a welcome. I see around me many distinguished speakers

who will be able much better than I can to express your admiration for this lofty undertaking, and they will also bring before you more adequately the political significance of the Mission. But before concluding, I would say a few words on what I venture to call the more scientific side of the Unit's work. I consider that the sending out of a fully-equipped Jewish Medical Unit is a very great tribute to the progressive means by which modern Zionists are seeking to solve the problems of the new Palestine. (Cheers). Some few years ago an American philanthropist, Mr. Nathan Straus—(cheers)—established a Health Bureau in Jerusalem, which has done admirable work in reducing disease, more especially malaria and trachoma, in and around Jerusalem. The good work done by Mr. Straus will be carried on by those whom we welcome to-day. The purpose in view, among other work, is the establishment of hospitals on the most approved lines. The services of these hospitals will be of inestimable value to the suffering population, and so will be those of the nurses and of the medical personnel, whose devotion in braving the dangers of sea and land in these perilous times we all greatly admire. (Cheers.) Their duties will be both arduous and manifold, for the Zionist Commission to Palestine, though it found the Jewish Colonies in a satisfactory condition, reports that the sanitary state of Jerusalem is deplorable, and that the whole country is suffering tremendously from ages of misrule and oppression. I see among this great audience a large Unit of American Jewish Volunteers. (Loud cheers). I feel convinced that you will equally give these brave soldiers a very hearty welcome, for their keenness and enthusiasm have most profoundly impressed all those who have met them. (Hear, hear.) In asking you to give both the American Zionist Medical Unit and the American Volunteers a most hearty and sincere welcome no further words of mine are needed, and I will now ask the Rt. Hon. George Barnes, M.P., who represents the War Cabinet, to address you. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon G. N. BARNES, M.P., who was cordially received, said: I am glad that it has fallen to my lot to take a little part in this great gathering—a gathering which I venture to say may be memorable in the annal of this old City of London. On behalf of the British Government, and voicing what I feel perfectly sure are the sentiments of the British people, I join with you all in a hearty welcome first of all to the Jewish Legion, whom I welcome on behalf of the British Government as fellow fighters for freedom. (Cheers.) It is, I think, a happy augury that their services are going to be given in the East, where their hearts and their interests

mostiy lie. I hope that they will fight side by side with Americans and British and other nationalities, and will fight until a successful conclusion of the present war for freedom is brought about. May they have a pleasant journey out, and a good time when they get out! I have next to offer a hearty welcome to the American Zionist Medical Unit *en route* on a mission of great moral and spiritual, as well as material significance. The British Government proclaimed its policy of Zionism because it believes that Zionism was identified with the policy and aims for which good men and women are struggling everywhere. (Cheers.) That policy is the policy of the Allies in this war. It is

THE POLICY TO WHICH WE ARE PLEDGED ;

it is the policy which we believe accords with the wishes of vast numbers of the Jewish people, many of whom have cast wistful eyes to Palestine as again destined to be their national home.

From the Jewish Chronicle, July 26, 1918.

MR. BALFOUR ON JEWISH NATIONALISM.*

Speech to the American Zionist Medical Unit.

Shortly before they left England the American Zionist Medical Unit was received by Mr. Balfour. The deputation, which consisted of Mr. Lewin-Epstein, the Manager of the Unit, Drs. Satenstein, Druskin, Hilkovich, Keller and Krinsky, Miss Alice Seligsberg and Miss Rose Klombers, was introduced by Mr. Sokolow, who explained the objects of the Unit.

After some remarks by Miss Seligsberg and Mr. Lewin-Epstein,

MR. BALFOUR replied, in a most cordial way, to the following effect :—he said he was very happy to be able to address the Deputation of the Unit on their way to Palestine, where they were going to contribute their share to the beginnings of a great National undertaking. The far-

* Officially communicated.

reaching importance of the idea represented by Zionism was not sufficiently understood; the influence of that great National revival known as Zionism would be felt not only by those Jews who would settle in Palestine, but also by Jewry in every country of the world, and even by the other nations of humanity, for though Palestine was but a small country, the good which it had done for mankind was immeasurable. The destruction of Judea that occurred nineteen centuries ago was one of the great wrongs which the Allied Powers were trying to redress. This destruction was a national tragedy. It deprived the Jews of the opportunities enjoyed by other nations, viz., to develop their national genius and their own spirit to the full extent of which it was capable. The Jews occupied a unique position among nations of the present day, because they lacked that element of nationality which appeared to be indispensable to a complete National life—he referred, of course, to the possession of their National Home. The present moment witnessed the entrance on the World's stage of great and important National factors, and he felt sure that among these the Zionist idea, which had already accomplished so much in Palestine, would play a noble and beneficent part. He congratulated the members of the Unit on their great humanitarian mission. He knew they were moved by a high idea and not by any self-seeking advantage. Nothing, he said, could be accomplished in this world except under the inspiration of a great ideal. He wished them God-speed and complete success.

Mr. Balfour's speech made a profound impression on the Deputation.

MR. SOKOLOW replied on behalf of the Unit and expressed his thanks to Mr. Balfour and through him to the British Government, not only for their invaluable help in every way, but even more for the profound understanding shown of their aims and aspirations.

From the Jewish Chronicle, August 2, 1918.

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST MEDICAL UNIT.*

RECEPTION BY LIEUT.-COL. SIR MARKS SYKES, BART., M.P.

The Zionist Medical Unit was received during its stay in London by Sir Mark Sykes, M.P., of the Foreign Office, and by M. Georges Picot, representing the French Government.

M. NAHUM SOKOLOW, in introducing the Unit, said that it was but fitting that this Unit, which was to carry out one of the first pieces of practical work inspired by their recent political successes, should be brought into the house of Sir Mark, because it was in that house that Sir Mark Sykes, M. Picot, and he had first discussed their aims and objects—a discussion which ultimately yielded such fruitful results.

Miss SELIGSBERG, of the Hadassah (American Women's Zionist Organisation), and Mr. LEWIN-EPSTEIN having spoken,

Sir MARK SYKES welcomed the Medical Unit. It was, he said, a good augury that the first body of Jews going to Palestine was going on a mission of healing. Even before he became acquainted with the details of the Movement, and before he had the pleasure of meeting the Zionist leaders, he had always kept before him Zionistic questions, that is to say, he had had it in his mind that some such idea furnished the best solution of the Jewish problem. He knew Palestine from his childhood, and he could tell them frankly that he regarded it as a great sacrifice not to be there at the present moment. He could have been there, and might, like his friend, M. Picot, have witnessed the memorable scene of the entry of the British troops into Jerusalem, but he had conceived it to be his duty to be here in London to do work of a political nature which was not less essential for the achievement of their object than to be on the battlefield. Sir Mark Sykes paid a tribute to the work done by M. Picot. The latter's modesty would prevent him from speaking of the difficult work he had had to do to bring to a successful issue the negotiations with the French Government, and he therefore felt it his duty to tell them that without M. Picot's assistance and efforts of his Government, they could not have reached their present position.

M. GEORGES PICOT greeted the Medical Unit on behalf

* Officially communicated.

of the French Government. The Zionists were, he said, in thorough harmony with the cause for which the Allies were fighting. That was why the French Government was able to recognise the Zionist claim. He agreed that there were many difficulties to be encountered, but he felt sure that they were surmountable. With such zeal and devotion as that displayed by M. Sokolow, whose tact and knowledge in dealing with the Government had yielded so much success, they would be carried forward to the ultimate realisation of the aims to which they were all devoted. He wished the Unit a pleasant journey and every success in their mission.

M. NAHUM SOKOLOW thanked both Sir Mark Sykes and M. Picot for their kind words about him, which he said were not meant for him personally but rather as a representative of the Zionist idea. Referring to the good work on behalf of Zionism done by M. Picot, M. Sokolow said he had met much opposition in France. But that opposition did not come from the French Government but rather from the French Jews, M. Picot had actually become a Zionist propagandist.

APPENDIX VI.

From the Jewish Chronicle, August 2, 1918.

FOUNDATION STONES LAID.

BRILLIANT CEREMONY.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

JERUSALEM.

The 15th of Ab, traditionally a minor festival when the Recitation of Lament is omitted from the ritual for the day, has taken upon itself a new distinction in the Jewish Calendar. For on Wednesday last, the foundation stones of the Jewish University were laid on Mount Scopus, near Jerusalem, the beautiful spot purchased before the war from the widow of Sir John Gray Hill. Surely no more telling sign of the

"Yeshub," of the regeneration of the Jewish people, could be imagined than the setting up in Palestine, destined to become recognised in the near future by the Powers of the world as the National Home for the Jewish People, of a seat of learning open to all creeds from all parts of the earth, but a seat of Jewish learning and Jewish culture.

It is characteristic of our people that the very first foothold upon their restored National Home is thus utilised for the high purposes of Science. It was Jewish learning to which they turned when the great *débâcle* overtook them and the diaspora began. To Jabneh the Rabbis took their way so as to set up a resistance, in mental and moral force, to the overwhelming disaster which physically the Jews had just sustained in their National overthrow. They elected aright; for Jewish learning proved to be the unconquerable bastion which has shielded and saved Judaism for close upon nineteen centuries. That sure fortress was planted as our forefathers, heavy in heart and sore in spirit, turned their tear-bedimmed eyes away from their fallen land to that new intellectual heritage they determined to set up for Judaism and Jewry. What more meet, then, that, as with hopeful joy we perceive at last the ending of our dispersion breaking upon our gaze like a great light upon the horizon, we should again look to that means which has been so potent in preserving us and keeping us alive and bringing us to this season; and, not in sorrow and well-nigh desperation, but with our souls filled with fondest aspirations, set the foundations for a great centre of Jewish learning?

The ceremony at Mount Scopus was a brilliant one, worthy of the occasion and purpose. It was attended by a vast congregation, comprising all elements of the population, who look upon this Jewish enterprise as a certain guarantee of the moral uplifting which the Jewish restoration in Palestine is to effect. Among others present was General Allenby and members of his staff, Officers of the French and Italian forces in Palestine, together with several representatives of the Egyptian Jewry. There were twelve foundation stones laid, each to represent one of the tribes of Israel, and the first of them was set by Dr. Weizmann, the chief of the Zionist Commission. Appropriate blessings were pronounced and prayers were said by the Rabbis present; indeed, the ceremony was really a religious one, perhaps in the very best sense of the term. I could not avoid thinking, as I watched the proceedings, and contemplated all they meant to the Jewish people, of the words of the Atonement service: "Happy the eye that beheld all these!" But I am certain the remaining words do not apply: "For verily to hear only of them afflicts

our soul !” Because, on the contrary, wherever the news of this beginning of what will be a great Jewish work reaches the ears of the Jew it will prove tidings of gladness, of comfort, of hope—it will be as a trumpet-call to rouse the indifferent, a mighty fact which will infuse new energy and new determination in those who are zealous and faithful children of Israel. At last the foundation is laid for the means whereby Jewry can best serve all Mankind, in that direction which is at once essentially its *métier* and is in accordance with the highest conceptions of its God-given mission in the world.

THE SITE FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

BY BERTRAM B. BENAS, B.A., LL.B.

The site for the Jewish University in Jerusalem is one of the most historic and beautiful in the whole world. The land purchased was at one time the property of the late Sir John Gray Hill, of Liverpool, a former President of the Law Society, an eminent English maritime lawyer, and a nephew of the late Sir Rowland Hill, the Postal Reformer. The property is best described in the words of Sir John, spoken in the course of an address upon “The Jews of Jerusalem,” delivered to a Jewish gathering in Liverpool some six years ago :—

[QUOTED IN APPENDIX III, B.]

p. 42.

Goodrich Freer, in “Inner Jerusalem,” observes : “Mount Scopus is crowned by what is marked on the maps as the ‘English House,’ the country house of a Liverpool solicitor and the centre, during the spring months, not only of art and hospitality, but also of wide philanthropy. . . .” How Sir John became acquainted with the University project has been narrated in a recent number of “Palestine,” the organ of the British Palestine Committee (February 9th, 1918). It was during Sir John’s last visit to Palestine, in 1914, that the negotiations were initiated for the purchase of the estate on behalf of the University by the Palestine office of the Zionist Organisation. After the decease of Sir John and the outbreak of war, the completion of the negotiations was carried through with the co-operation of Sir Norman Hill (the late Sir John’s nephew), the late Dr. Tchlenow, M. Nahum Sokolow, Dr. C. Weizmann, the Rev. I.

Raffalovich (of Liverpool), Mr. Israel M. Sieff, Mr. S. Tolkowsky, M. Isak Goldberg, and the present writer, who, it may be here mentioned, had the honour of drafting the Agreement come to between Sir Norman and the Zionist Organisation.

The property purchased for the University consists of a considerable tract of land adjoining the estate "Ras Abou Kharoub," and this will be immediately available for a building or buildings of the University. Furthermore, the "Ras Abou Kharoub" estate has been acquired, including the residence and the adjacent and appurtenant lands forming the remainder of the estate. "Ras Abou Kharoub" (as distinguished from the tract of land first mentioned) will not be available unless and until the Vendor surrenders Lady Gray Hill's life interest in the right to the occupation thereof. The land at present immediately available, should, however, afford ample room for the laying of the foundation of a splendid edifice and the "Ras Abou Kharoub" estates provide not only for extension of the structures, but assure the crowning position of the locality for the Jewish people and their symbol of the return to the ancient Homeland. In the autumn of 1913 Sir John delivered the Inaugural Address to the Liverpool Jewish Literary Society, the subject of his Address being "Zionism, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land." At that time there was no idea that the "Ras Abou Kharoub" estates would become the site for the projected University, and the following words contained in the address may be quoted as of particular interest:—

[QUOTED IN APPENDIX III, A.]

p. 40.

In his book, "With the Beduins," Sir John describes "Ras Abou Kharoub" thus: "From Jericho to the Mount of Olives, ending an eventful journey, we pitched our camp at the northern end of the ridge, upon the highest point of the hills that stand about Jerusalem, a place where neither pilgrim nor tourist comes. Here stood a little piece of land and a cave therein, which we had bought and had 'made sure unto us as a possession' and that we might have a little spot to call our own in the land that we love." That was written in 1890, and the "little piece of land" has now grown into the glorious estates now assured to the Jewish people for a Temple of Learning.

"I am but an onlooker," said Sir John Gray Hill in the address upon "The Jews in Jerusalem" first quoted, "but I have a sincere sympathy with your aspirations. I have, moreover, looked on for twenty-five years. 'And this I

strongly believe, that the new spirit which is awakening among you will ultimately lead to a new, a happier, and a nobler existence for the Jews in the Holy Land, that the night of bondage and misery is far spent, and the day of freedom and happiness is at hand." It is for the Jewish people to raise the superstructure and may it be worthy of the builders !

MR. BALFOUR'S GREETING.

Mr. BALFOUR sent the following message by telegraph : "Please accept my cordial good wishes for the future of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. May it carry out its noble purpose with ever-increasing success as the years go on ! I offer my warm congratulations to all who have laboured so assiduously to found this school of learning, which should be an addition to the forces of progress throughout the world."

From the Liverpool Courier, August 3, 1918.

LEADING ARTICLE.

THE UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM.

The inspiring message which Mr. Balfour sent on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of the Jewish University of Jerusalem calls attention to a memorable event. At any time the establishment of a great institution in the Holy City would evoke interest and enthusiasm, but at a period when the world is at war, and the Land of Israel a battle front, the foundation of a seat of learning upon the very earth whence humanity drew its ideals of peace and justice marks an epoch in the history of mankind. It is evidence of the confidence which British rule inspires that an ancient people, with an unparalleled experience of Empires and States, places its implicit faith in the declarations of Britain and in the belief that the Allied cause will win through by the inherent strength of its character. It is impossible to contemplate without emotion the re-establishment in the City of David of a house of learning wherein the Hebrew language, the language of the Sacred Law, the great ethical truths of the prophetic literature will animate every effort and endeavour. To us in this city the foundation makes a par-

particular appeal, for the site of the University was at one time the property of our distinguished fellow-citizen, the late Sir John Gray Hill, whose wish it was that it should become the centre of Hebrew learning and the Hebrew spirit. A considerable part of the negotiations for acquiring the site took place in this city, and to the continued goodwill shown to the movement by Lady Gray Hill and Sir Norman Hill the successful completion of the project is in a considerable measure due. It was interest in Liverpool Jewish literary and national activity, a welcome phenomenon in the life of the local community, which brought Sir John into closer touch with the Jewry of Palestine, a further instance of the association of Liverpool with the foundation of the new University. Fellowship between Jewry and the nations will be strengthened by the significant illustration which the establishment of a University as the first token of the national resettlement so eloquently affords.

From the Jewish Chronicle, August 9, 1918.

THE JEWISH UNIVERSITY.

LAYING OF THE FOUNDATION-STONES.

DR. WEIZMANN'S ADDRESS.

"THE LONG UNBROKEN CHAIN OF INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT."

At the ceremony of laying the foundation-stones of the Jewish University on July 24th, those present included, besides the members of the Zionist Commission, the Commander-in-Chief and senior members of his staff, the Military Governor of Jerusalem, and staff representatives of the French and Italian Military detachments in Palestine and other officers. The Mufti of Jerusalem, Bishop MacInnes, Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the representatives of the Armenian and Greek churches, the Mayor and Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, Baron and Baroness Felix Menasce of Alexandria, Maurice Cattau Pacha, President of the Cairo Jewish Community, Mr. Victor Mosseri, and the Chief Rabbis of Cairo and Alexandria, the Sephardi and Ashkenazi Chief

Rabbis, representatives of all Jewish organisations and committees in Jerusalem, Jaffa, and the colonies. The day was declared a public Jewish holiday in Jerusalem, and a crowd numbering about 6,000 people witnessed the ceremony.

After the ceremony had been opened by a chant of praise, Dr. Weizmann laid the first foundation-stone of the University on behalf of the Zionist Organisation. He was followed by the two Chief Rabbis of Jerusalem and the heads of the United Council, who laid a stone on behalf of the Jerusalem Community. The Mufti then laid a stone, and was followed by the Anglican Bishop. Stones were also laid on behalf of the following :—The Jewish Regiment; Baron Edmond de Rothschild; the Town of Jaffa; the Colonies; Hebrew Literature; Hebrew Teachers; Hebrew Science; Jewish Artisans and Labourers; Isaac Goldberg (whose generosity it was that provided so largely for the purchase of the site), and The Future Generation.

Dr. Weizmann then delivered an address. He said :

We have to-day laid the foundation-stone of the first Jewish University, which is to be erected on this hill, overlooking the city of Jerusalem. Many of us will have had their thoughts cast back to the great historic scenes associated with Jerusalem, scenes that have become part of the heritage of mankind. It is not too fanciful to picture the souls of those who have made our history here with us to-day inspiring us, urging us onwards, to greater and even greater tasks. Many again will have had their attention rivetted on the apparent contrast between to-day's ceremony and the scenes of warfare within a few miles of us. For only a brief moment we are allowing ourselves to indulge in a mental armistice, and in laying aside all thoughts of strife we try to pierce the veil of war and glance into the future. A week ago we were keeping the Fast of Ab, reminding us that the Temple had been utterly destroyed, and the Jewish national political existence extinguished apparently for ever. But throughout the long centuries we,

THE STIFF-NECKED PEOPLE,

have refused to acknowledge defeat, and "Judea Capta" is once more on the eve of triumph. Here, out of the misery and the desolation of War, is being created the first germ of a new life. Hitherto we have been content to speak of Reconstruction and Restoration. We know that ravished Belgium, France devastated, Poland and Russia must and will be restored. In this University, however, we have gone beyond Restoration and Reconstruction, we are creating

during the period of war something which is to serve as a symbol of a better future. It is fitting that Great Britain, aided by her great Allies, in the midst of tribulation and sorrow, should stand sponsor to this University. Great Britain has understood that it is just because these are times of stress, just because men tend to become lost in the events of the day, that there is a need to overlay these details by this bold appeal to the world's imagination. Here what seemed but a dream a few years ago is now becoming a reality.

What is the significance of a Jewish University—what are going to be its functions, whence will it draw its students, and what languages will it speak? It seems at first sight paradoxical that in a land with so sparse a population, in a land where everything still remains to be done, in a land crying out for such simple things as ploughs, roads, and harbours, we should begin by creating a centre of spiritual and intellectual development. But it is not paradox for those who know

THE SOUL OF THE JEW.

It is true that great social and political problems still face us and will demand their solution from us. We Jews know that when the mind is given fullest play, when we have a centre for the development of Jewish consciousness, then coincidentally will we attain the fulfilment of our material needs. In the darkest ages of our existence we found protection and shelter within the walls of our schools and colleges, and in devoted study of Jewish science the tormented Jew found relief and consolation. Amid all the sordid squalor of the Ghetto there stood schools of learning, where numbers of young Jews sat at the feet of our Rabbis and teachers. Those schools and colleges served as large reservoirs where were stored up during the long ages of persecution an intellectual and spiritual energy which on the one hand helped to maintain our national existence, and on the other hand blossomed forth for the benefit of mankind when once the walls of the Ghetto fell. The sages of Babylon and Jerusalem, Maimonides and the Gaon of Wilna, the lens polisher, of Amsterdam and Karl Marx, Heinrich Hertz and Paul Ehrlich are some of the links in the long, unbroken chain of intellectual development. The University, as its name implies, is to teach everything the mind of man embraces. No teaching can be fruitful nowadays unless it is strengthened by a spirit of enquiry and research; and a modern University must not only produce highly-trained professional men, but give ample opportunity to those capable of and ready to devote themselves to scientific research to do so unhindered and undisturbed.

Our University will thus become the home of those hundreds of talented young Jews in whom the thirst for learning and critical enquiry have been

ENGRAINED BY HEREDITY

throughout ages, and who in the great multitude of cases are at present compelled to satisfy this their burning need amid un-Jewish, very often unfriendly, surroundings. A Jewish University? I do not suppose that there is anyone here who can conceive of an university in Jerusalem being other than a Jewish one. The claim that the University should be a Jewish one rests upon the values the Jews have transmitted to the world, from this land. Here in the presence of adherents of three great religions of the world, which amid many diversities build their faith upon the Lord who made Himself known unto Moses, before this world which has founded itself on Jewish law, has paid reverence to Hebrew seers, has acknowledged the great mental and spiritual values the Jewish people have given to it, the question is answered. The University is to stimulate the Jewish people to reach further truth. Am I too bold if here to-day in this place among the hills of Ephraim and Judah, I state my conviction that the seers of Israel have not utterly perished, that under the ægis of this University there will be a renaissance of the Divine power of prophetic wisdom that once was ours?

The University will be the focus of the rehabilitation of our Jewish consciousness now so tenuous, because it has become so world-diffused. Under the atmospheric pressure of this Mount, our Jewish consciousness can become diffused without becoming feeble, our consciousness will be rekindled and our Jewish youth will be re-invigorated from Jewish sources. Since it is to be a Jewish University, the question hardly arises as to its language. By a strange error, people have regarded Hebrew as one of the dead languages, whilst in fact it has never died off the lips of mankind. True, to many of us Jews it has become a second language, but for thousands of my people Hebrew is and always has been the sacred tongue, and in the streets of Tel Aviv, in the orchards of Richon and Rechoboth, on the farms of Hulda and Ben Shemen, it has already become the mother tongue. Here in Palestine, amid the Babel of languages, Hebrew stands out as the one language in which every Jew can communicate with every other Jew. Upon the technical difficulties connected with Hebrew instruction it is unnecessary for me to dwell at this moment. We are alive to them; but the experience of our Palestinian schools has already shown to us that these difficulties are surmountable. These are all points

of detail which have been carefully examined and will be dealt with at the appropriate time. I have spoken of the Jewish University where the language will be Hebrew, just as French is used at the Sorbonne, or English at Oxford. Naturally, other languages, ancient and modern, will be taught in their respective faculties; among these we may expect that prominent attention will be given to Arabic and other Semitic languages.

The Jewish University, though intended primarily for Jews, will of course give an affectionate welcome to the members of

EVERY RACE AND EVERY CREED.

“My house is a house of prayer for all the nations.” Besides the usual schools and institutions which go to form a modern University, there will be certain branches of science which will be peculiarly appropriate to associate with our University. Archæological Research, which has revealed so much of the mysterious past of Egypt and of Greece, has a harvest still to be reaped in Palestine, and our University is destined to play an important part in this field of knowledge.

The question as to the faculties with which our University may begin its career is limited to some extent by practical considerations. The beginnings of our University are not entirely lacking. We have in Jerusalem the elements of a Pasteur Institute and a Jewish Health Bureau, whence valuable contributions in Bacteriology and Sanitation have already been issued. There is the school of Technicology at Haifa and the beginning of an Agricultural experimental station at Athlit. It is to scientific research and its application that we can confidently look for the banishment of those twin plagues of Palestine, malaria and trachoma; for the eradication of other indigenous diseases; it is to true scientific method that we may look for the full cultivation of this fair and fertile land, now so unproductive. Here Chemistry and Bacteriology, Geology and Climatology will be required to join forces, so that the great value of the University in the building up of our national home is apparent. All that again reminds us of the fact which one is likely to forget after four years of a terrible war, with its

MISAPPLICATION OF SCIENTIFIC METHODS,

that we must look to science as to the healer of many wounds and the redeemer of many evils. Side by side with scientific research the humanities will occupy a distinguished place. Ancient Jewish learning, the accumulated, half-hidden, treasures of our ancient philosophical and religious-juridic

literature, are to be brought to light again and freed from the dust of ages. They will be incorporated in the new life now about to develop in this country, and so our past will be linked up with the present. May I be allowed, before concluding, to point to one very important aspect of our University? The University, while trying to maintain the highest scientific level, must at the same time be rendered accessible to all classes of the people. The Jewish workman and farm labourer must be enabled to find there a possibility of continuing and completing his education in his free hours. The doors of our libraries, lecture rooms, and laboratories must be opened widely to them all. Thus the University will exercise its beneficial influence on the nation as a whole. The bare nucleus of the library is already in existence here, and very valuable additions to it are at present stored up in Russia and elsewhere. The setting-up of a University library and of a University press are contemplated soon after the War. Manifold are the preparations yet to be made. Some of them are already in progress; some, like the actual building, must necessarily be postponed until the happy day of peace arrives. But from this day the Jewish University is a reality. Our University, informed by Jewish learning and Jewish energy, will mould itself into an integral part of our National structure which is in process of erection. It will have a centripetal force, attracting all that is noblest in Jewry throughout the world, a unifying centre for our scattered elements. There will go forth, too, inspiration and strength, that shall revivify the powers now latent in our scattered Communities. Here the wandering soul of Israel shall reach its haven; its strength no longer consumed in restless and vain wanderings. Israel shall at last remain at peace within itself and with the world. There is a Talmudic legend that tells of the Jewish soul deprived of its body, hovering between heaven and earth. Such is our soul to-day; to-morrow it shall come to rest, in this our sanctuary. That is our faith.

Dr. Weizmann then read the message from Mr. Balfour, the text of which was published in our columns last week.

Capt. Coulandre, on behalf of the French Government, presented the following message:—

Le Gouvernement de la République est heureux d'exprimer les sentiments de sympathie avec lesquels il accueille la fondation de l'Université juive. Il forme des vœux sincères pour que de la rayonnent les grandes pensées de fraternité et d'idéal auxquels le Judaïsme s'est si fermement attaché à travers les siècles au cours desquels il a résisté à toutes les persécutions et pour que dans un monde débarrassé des

violences engendrées par les ambitions forcées du régime Prussien les Juifs qui le désirent puissent trouver en Palestine en parfaite entente avec les autres groupements ethniques un foyer à la fois intellectuel et social.

The whole ceremony was a deeply moving one, and produced an effect which will long remain with those who witnessed it.

APPENDIX VII.

From the Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury,
August 17, 1918.

LEADING ARTICLE.

JEWISH RECRUITS IN PALESTINE.

British forces in Palestine have recently received a notable addition to their strength from a source upon which we had no reason to count when we invaded the Holy Land. Recruiting offices, it appears, have been opened in Jerusalem and Jaffa for the enlistment of Jews to keep up the strength of the Jewish battalions sent out from England, and this step has met with phenomenal success. There has been a rush to enlist on the part of young Jewry comparable to the memorable scenes in this country when Kitchener's Army flocked to the colours. An article which we publish to-day describing the inauguration of this movement speaks of an almost passionate eagerness for military service on the part of the Jewish colonists. Sufferings under Turkish rule, gratitude to Great Britain for deliverance, and the growth of Jewish national consciousness are the inspiring factors which have produced this happy result. Some of the volunteers from the Jaffa district petitioned for admission to the ranks before the opening of recruiting offices was contemplated, and when the doors were opened practically all the able-bodied men joined up. The Jaffa recruits were nearly all of Grade A, and being accustomed to the climatic conditions, they should prove hardy and useful soldiers. Mr. Balfour's declaration of British sympathy with Zionist aspirations is partly responsible

for the rapid development of this volunteer movement, which bears with it germs of rich promise for the future of Zionism in Judea. Those peoples are worthy of freedom and self-government who are ready to defend their liberty with their own right arm.

JEWISH VOLUNTEERS IN JUDÆA.

A RUSH TO THE COLOURS.

The enthusiasm that has marked the opening of recruiting offices in Jerusalem and Jaffa for the enlistment of Palestinian Jews as reinforcements for the Jewish battalions sent out from England has been striking and significant (writes a Palestine correspondent). The "gedud" or "regiment," has become the all-absorbing topic of interest in practically all sections of Palestinian Jewry, orthodox as well as non-orthodox. The volunteer movement began in Palestine some weeks before the arrival of the Zionist Commission or the 1st Jewish Battalion from England. It was the spontaneous movement of a number of young Jewish colonists, mostly of Russian origin, who felt that it was their duty to bear their share in the task of liberating their homes from the hated Turk. The experiences of the three years of war preceding the British occupation, which had revealed in an aggravated form all the evils of Turkish misrule, had served to intensify the desire of the Jewish colonists to rid Palestine of the Turk. The announcement of the Balfourian declaration of sympathy with Zionist aspirations formed an additional and even more weighty reason for their resolve. Hatred of the Turkish rule, gratitude towards Great Britain, and the growth of Jewish national consciousness in Palestine combined to stimulate an almost passionate eagerness for military service in and with the British Army.

The protagonists of the movement were a group of young men in Jaffa and the neighbouring colonies, under the leadership of a well-known Hebrew writer named Smeliansky, a colonist, of Rehoboth. This group presented a petition to the British military authorities, of which the following lines may be quoted:—"We, a group of initiators embracing several hundreds, have decided from innermost conviction to volunteer as a Jewish unit for fighting service in order to take part in the great historic event of our country's liberation. We desire to fight for the liberation of Palestine, which,

according to Mr. Balfour's declaration, is to be the country of our future. We desire to join the Jewish battalions coming from England, and hope that Jewish units will soon be raised in all parts of the Diaspora, that many Jewish soldiers now serving in the armies of the Entente Powers will be transferred to Jewish volunteer units, so that a Jewish force will arise, fighting all together with the British Army for the freedom of our nation and Palestine. . . . We know that by carrying on our peace-time work on the land we could help the prosecution of the war. But at this historic moment we cannot stick to this rôle only. We volunteers are mostly labourers working plough and pick. We had written on our banners the words 'Work' because in work on the soil we see the heaven of our national existence. If we now leave our work it is because an inner voice calls to us to give not only the sweat of our brows but our blood also. . . ."

This petition sets forth very clearly the spirit and conviction which inspires these Palestinian recruits. The moment the recruiting offices were open there was a rush to the doors, and the scene, in Jaffa particularly recalled the scenes in England in 1914. There was no hesitation on the part of parents, employers, dependants, or womenfolk. Practically all the able-bodied men joined the movement. No pressure or recruiting sergeants were required in Jaffa. In Jerusalem conditions are, of course, different. In the Holy City the same development of Zionist opinion has not yet been reached, and the bulk of the Jewish population are devoted to a life of religious devotion or study. Still, even in Jerusalem the response has been striking, and in the grounds of the Rothschild Hospital, which forms the recruiting office, one may see amid the more stalwart young Jews in European clothes the pale faces of Yeshiba boys with long hair, long coats, and wide-brimmed black hats, emerging for the first time from a life of scholasticism and of aloofness from the world. The Jaffa recruits show a much greater uniformity of type. Their physique is remarkable. Out of the first 102 examined by the doctor 100 were classified A—or fit for general service. In Jerusalem there was nothing like the same standard, over one-third of the applicants being rejected. There were several instances of volunteers who, failing to pass the doctor in Jaffa, marched the forty miles to Jerusalem to try once more to get accepted.

On the last day before the opening of the recruiting offices the volunteers sent the following message to Colonel Patterson, who commanded the Zion Mule Corps in Gallipoli and now commands the first Jewish battalion to reach Palestine from England :—

"Coming from two different worlds distant and strange to one another, we and you are met to-day in the light of same ideal. Colonel and comrade, as a son of a free people you can understand the feelings of men who for the first time after nearly 2,000 years of slavery have forged their ploughshares into swords to fight for freedom. A great part of these feelings go out to you, the first leader of the first Jewish force. From the days of Gallipoli we know and love your name and you have become a comrade and brother to us—brother in arms and comrade in ideals. We are convinced that Britain's victory is ours and our victory Britain's. This war and Balfour's declaration have made us a sister nation of England. We hope to convince by our fighting that the soul of the Maccabees has not dried up and that we know how to countersign Balfour's declaration with our own blood."

This is not in the least exaggerated or hypocritical language. A sight of these recruits at their preliminary drills in the courtyard of the Hebrew School at Tel Aviv, or at their English classes (many of them only talk Hebrew or Yiddish), is sufficient to convince one of the real genuineness of their sentiments and their ideals. These men have seen the tide of war go past them, they can still hear the guns. By every means in their power they sought, and in many cases sought successfully, to escape service under the Turk. Others who were Turkish conscripts escaped in the rush of our advance, and are now among the best of the volunteers. The example of Palestinian Jewry in the hills and plains of Judæa should be a message to their kinsmen in distant lands.

Whatever happens in the future, and whatever may be the future of Palestine, the Jewish volunteer movement in Palestine will always stand out in the history of the Jewish people as a great historic fact linking the Zionist ideal with that of the great nations of England, France, Italy, and America in this great war for human freedom.

APPENDIX VIII.

From The Jewish Chronicle, August 16, 1918.

CONFERENCE OF JEWS IN PALESTINE.

IMPORTANT ADDRESS BY MAJOR ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.

The first Conference of Jews in the liberated area of Palestine was held at Jaffa on June 17th. Those present included Major W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Political Officer attached to the Zionist Commission in Palestine, Dr. Weizmann and Dr. Thon.

Addressing the Conference, which was composed both of ladies and gentlemen, Major Ormsby-Gore said :—

You have asked me as Political Officer in charge of the Zionist Commission which has been sent out to Palestine by H.M. Government to attend this historic gathering and to say a few words of good wishes to you, the representatives of all Jewry in the Occupied Part of Palestine, on behalf of my Government. I do so with a full heart. My Government—the British Government—has said one or two important things during this war concerning Palestine.

My Government has said that, if England and her Allies win this war, the future Government of Palestine shall not be Turkish, because in this war England and her Allies are fighting, not for the extension of any Empire, nor for the acquisition of further power or further territory, but they are

FIGHTING FOR AN IDEAL,

shared by all our Allies, namely, that countries shall be governed in the interests and according to the wishes and the aspirations of the inhabitants of those countries. We are satisfied when we look at the results of the Turkish rule upon the land and the people of Palestine, that such rule ought to disappear in the interests of Palestine and of civilisation. The Turkish rule in Palestine was an alien rule, and was not in the best interests of any of the inhabitants of Palestine, and moreover such a rule crippled the free development, economic and political, of this country. My Government has said that it wishes to see the people of Palestine among others freed from the rule of the Turks ; but it has yet said nothing as to what Government should take its place—that is a matter

for the Peace Conference. But Mr. Balfour has made an historic declaration with regard to the Zionists : that he wishes to see created and built up in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish People. What do we understand by this? We mean that those Jews who voluntarily come to live in Palestine, should live in Palestine as Jewish Nationalists, *i.e.*, that they should be regarded as Jews and nothing else, and that they should be absolutely free to develop Hebrew education, to develop the country and live their own life in their own way in Palestine freely, but only submitting equally with all others to the laws of the land.

I shall tell the British Government when I go back what the Jews of Palestine have done already to realise their ideals and what they feel with regard to this National Home. I can say when I go back that I can see in this gathering to-day the pioneer work of the National Home, *i.e.*,

A NATIONAL HOME BUILT UPON A HEBREW FOUNDATION,

with a definite consciousness and ideal of its own. I can say that whether you come from Russia, from Salonika, from Bokhara, from Poland, from America, from England, or from Yemen, you are bound together in Palestine by the ideal of building up a Jewish Nation in all its various aspects in Palestine, a National Centre for Jewry all over the world to look to. This is the ideal of the future, an ideal which I am convinced will be realised without doing any injustice or injury to any of your neighbours here. But while I look forward to the realisation of this ideal, I must remind you of the grim realities of the present.

We can still hear the guns, and we are in the midst of a desperate struggle, not merely between nations, but between ideals. Be patient with the British Government, who wish you well. Do not expect a great deal from them, but expect a great deal from yourselves. At present we are bound to carry on the Turkish system of law, taxation, and Government. We are bound to do this by International Law, and England has always tried to respect this International Law. England set its seal to the Hague Convention, which said that when an advance was made into enemy country, the administration should be military and not political, and that such military administration should make no attempt to alter or change the institutions of the occupied country; it is not our wish that this is so, but it is so by the rule of law, and we shall do our best to respect this law, no matter who else breaks it. It is difficult for a military administration to make radical changes, or to do much to help you and others in the country.

Nevertheless some great things have been done already. The British Government has given opportunity to the young men to join the Battalion of Jews from other countries to liberate this country. This

SPLENDID RESPONSE OF YOUR YOUNG MEN

will have a great moral value when history comes to be written. Every one of these fine and splendid recruits now enrolled, and who are going to the battalions which have come from England and America, will go as missionaries of Jewish nationalism in Palestine, so that these men will stay in Palestine and help to develop it on just and right lines. The British Government has done something more of great service to you. The Government has sent out to Palestine the Zionist Commission. It has sent out Dr. Weizmann—*i.e.*, the British Government has sent out a man in whom it has confidence to help the Jews in Palestine in their greatest hour of need. What this help has meant to you I need not go into in detail. The Zionist Commission speaks for itself. Dr. Weizmann came here as a stranger to the British authorities, but in a few weeks he has won for himself, and for the people whom he represents, a position among the British authorities and among all with whom he has come into contact in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, a position which is not merely a help, but a corner-stone of the work which lies before you. The Zionist Commission is in a position to do much to acquaint not only Jewry throughout the world, but also the Governments of the Allied countries, with the needs, ideals, and aspirations of Palestine Jewry. It is therefore only right that you should be guided in patience by him, your leader, and accept his advice and direction. Dr. Weizmann is a leader who will see you through. In him is a man worthy of your confidence, as well as of the confidence of all of the Allied Governments.

The work of the Conference which I am addressing is very important. You have a great deal to prepare for. You have to prepare for Peace, for the day when war is no more, and when there will be, please God, a free Palestine. Gentlemen, make sure that your foundation-stones are truly laid in your agricultural, cultural and educational work. So much depends for civilisation on the work for which you are now preparing and which you will perform during the next few months. You will be faced with all the difficult trivialities of life, but

IN THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT THERE IS A SPIRIT,
and just as good transcends evil, so does the spiritual trans-

ceed the material. You can build up a centre of civilisation here. We English owe all that is best in our civilisation to the Bible, and that is why we feel a deep interest and a bond of sympathy in the work which you are doing. The Zionist movement is not merely a political move, but is a spiritual force, and if it succeeds I feel it will bring something great and noble to the world, a message which will not only do so much for the sad but beautiful land, but for the scattered hosts of Israel and for humanity.

From the Jewish Chronicle, August 23, 1918.

BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD ON ZIONISM.

SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN MEDICAL MISSION.

In our last issue we reported a reception given in Paris to the American Zionist Medical Mission, at which Baron Edmond de Rothschild presided. We have now received the full report of his speech. The Baron said :—

At the moment when you pass through Paris, before your departure for Palestine, where you are about to fulfil a great duty of solidarity and of charity, the Comité d'Etudes Sionistes of Paris and the most eminent representatives of French Jewry are holding this meeting to bid you welcome. We are very grateful to the Government which has sent its representatives to this meeting, and we thank it deeply for the honour it has done us. The presence of M. Mourier, Under-Secretary for the Health Department, of M. Tardieu, Minister for American Affairs, of M. Gout, representing the Minister of Foreign Affairs, with M. Picot, High Commissioner in Palestine, is a new testimony of the sympathy felt by the French Government and is a guarantee to us that the Jewish question in Palestine can count in the future on the support of France. In the name of all, I address to the Government the expression of our deep gratitude.

Since the beginning of the war, we in France have been aware of the admirable enthusiasm for charity of your fellow citizens. They have everywhere organised the most perfect medical corps, generously aided our wounded with the most eager and touching care, helped our unfortunate orphans,

taken part in the reconstruction of devastated villages. You are going to accomplish in Palestine work of the like kind. Members of the family of Israel, attached by the closest bonds to those whom you will find in Palestine,

YOU WILL BE RECEIVED THERE WITH GRATITUDE.

M. Sylvain Lévi, who went to Palestine as a French delegate, has told us all about the sufferings of the unfortunate population. There are in that land at the present time more than three thousand deserted orphans, whose condition is precarious in the extreme owing to want of food and care. Our hearts bleed at the thought that the infant mortality in certain communities had risen to 900 per 1,000. We hope that, thanks to you, the country will before long know the benefits of hygiene, which is the first condition for a better moral life, and we thank you deeply, all of you, great-hearted men and women, who are devoting yourselves to this noble task. Certainly the charitable purpose which you have set before yourselves might well be enough for you to undertake, but your mission will also participate in that great Zionist movement, the splendid development of which we have seen during the past few years: it will contribute to give life, so to speak, to the beautiful idea of the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine,

THE HOPE WHICH HAS KEPT ISRAEL ALIVE

for twenty centuries is about to be realised. One of the most remarkable phenomena recorded by history is that this conquered people, dragged into exile, has been able to resist all persecutions and preserve its personality since the dispersion, maintained by a common thought, by a moral ideal. If, thanks to its perseverance, it nows see opening before it the road which leads to the land of its ancestors, it sees above all the triumph of its ideas and of its conception of the world. Whilst all the people of antiquity saw the age of gold at the beginning of life, the Jewish people was the first which placed its hope in the reign of justice on earth to be achieved in the future. It is this idea which President Wilson has developed in his messages and which he has made real by entering into the struggle. Whilst the Kaiser, taking responsibility for this terrible war, causes millions of men to be immolated, massacres women and children in order to dominate the world, like the kings of Assyria of old, your President and your admirable country rise up, fighting without desire for conquest, to bring about the triumph of right, of equity, to make them secure in the lives of peoples, to give life to nationalities, associating themselves in this way with the

magnificent aim for which the Allies are shedding the blood of their children without measure.

One of the first consequences of their noble ideals has been the promise given by the Allied Governments to help in the re-establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. This Declaration has been received with enthusiasm and gratitude. It is not all who aspire to return to the land of their ancestors. In the Middle Ages the barrier which separated the Jews from the world was insurmountable, but now for more than a century, thanks to ideas of liberty, we feel ourselves in our true native land; you in your great Republic of America; we in France. The English Jews, the Italians, all are heartily attached to their country, and the patriotism of all has been affirmed on fields of battle. It is those above all who have suffered much, treated as strangers and outcasts in the lands where they live, who more than all others are animated by the desire to return and cultivate the sacred soil of Palestine. But it is an aim to which all Israelites to whatever country they belong are attached, and the great value for all of the establishment of a home in Palestine consists in the creation of

A CENTRE OF INTELLECTUAL CULTURE,

it is by this means that we wish to continue the work of our fathers. When the soldiers of our Allied countries, greater than the heroes of the epics of old, have assured by their victory the triumph of the noble cause for which they fight, there will arise from out of this terrible war a regenerated world. We wish to bring our stone to the great new building which will arise, and the Hebrew University is the symbol of our aspirations which will play its assigned rôle in our home in Palestine.

If the Jewish people which is so small has played so important a part in history, it is because it was the first which spread in the world the great principles of morality, of justice, and of right which still rule all modern societies. More even than we wish to cultivate the earth, we wish, after the example of our fathers, to cultivate the

GREAT PRINCIPLES OF IDEALISM AND OF JUSTICE

and to spread them over the world. For us, the mission of Israel is not ended, and that is the reason why we salute with joy the re-establishment of our home in Palestine. I am, I know, Ladies and Gentlemen, in agreement with the sentiments of your President, Judge Brandeis, that great genius, capable more than any other of working for the organisation

of this vast enterprise. Certainly, the task will be heavy and delicate, and will call for enlightened guidance, but men of worth will not be wanting, and with the help of the most remarkable personalities in the allied countries, on which we are entitled to count, we may well hope for success. In France, I do not fear to assert, the help of the Community will not be found wanting. Thus, Ladies and Gentlemen, the future seems to me full of promise; I have complete confidence in it.

When I helped the first Zionists to found their Colonies in Palestine, over fifty years ago (Herzl had not finished his studies at the time), I did not think that I should, in my old age, have the happiness of seeing those prophecies of Isaiah realised, in which, in a sublime vision, after the most terrible disorders and wars, he shows different nations leading the Israelites back to the land which God gave to their fathers.

From The Jewish Chronicle, September 13, 1918.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND NATIONALISM.

"THE FULFILMENT OF HISTORIC HOPES."

DEPUTATION OF MANCHESTER JEWS.

The Prime Minister paid a visit to Manchester and other places in Lancashire this week for the purpose of being presented with the freedom of several towns in the country. He arrived at Manchester on Wednesday evening, when he proceeded to the Town Hall where, among others, he received the deputation of Jews which, as will be seen below, had been arranged for, who presented him with an address, that placed on record the gratitude of the Jewish people for the interest shown by the Government in the Jewish National Movement and for the Declaration made on behalf of the Government by Mr. Balfour in November last.

The Deputation consisted of Messrs. E. H. Langdon, J.P., Nathan Laski, J.P., N. Sokolow, and Simon Marks.

MR. EDWARD H. LANGDON, J.P., in presenting the Address, said he had been authorised to welcome the Prime Minister in the name of the representatives of over one

hundred synagogues, as well as educational and philanthropic institutions of the city.

Mr. NATHAN LASKI, J.P., as an executive officer of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, representing the Jews throughout the Empire, said that he had the honour of thanking the Prime Minister in their name for the great sympathy and interest shown by him in the Jewish Cause.

M. N. SOKOLOW expressed gratitude to the Prime Minister on behalf of the Zionist Organisation for so cordially receiving the deputation,

The terms of the Address are as follows :—

The undersigned representatives of the Jewish Community of Manchester, headed by our distinguished Zionist leader, M. Nahum Sokolow, gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of your visit to Manchester to place on record the gratitude which the Jewish people feels for the interest shown by the Government, of whom you are the head, in the fulfilment of Jewish National aspirations.

We are confident that the Government's historic Declaration of 2nd of November, 1917, expresses not only its own considered policy at the present time, but the permanent attitude of the British nation to our people. We look forward to the early fruition of the hopes which we build on that Declaration, and we know that in the brighter days of peace, the restored and revived Hebrew nation will show in practical form its regard for Great Britain and for the British tradition of help and justice to small nations.

For the sake of the Jewish nation and of the cause of the free peoples throughout the world, struggling to escape from the pitiless desire for conquest of the German people who have been intoxicated with the belief that their army can override all obstacles and all rights, we trust that Great Britain and her Allies will at an early date see the downfall of the German power as an indispensable preliminary to the commencement of the New Era of peace and justice, foretold by our national prophets and seers in that great Jewish Bible which has become part of the patrimony of the peoples of this great Empire.

We venture to think that among the many triumphs which it will be your privilege to recall in after days, you will remember with perhaps a unique pride and pleasure that it was under the guidance of your statemanship that Great Britain extended its mighty hand in friendship to the Jewish people to help it to regain its ancient national home and to realise its age-long aspirations.

The Address was signed by Rabbi Dr. B. Salomon, Mr.

Edward H. Langdon, J.P., Mr. Nathan Laski, J.P., Mr. S. J. Cohen, Councillor Finburgh, Mr. L. Friedzon, Capt. Dulberg, R.A.M.C., and Mr. Simon Marks.

In reply, Mr. LLOYD GEORGE said :

It is with feelings of the greatest satisfaction that I accept the address which you have done me the privilege of presenting to me. The aspirations which you share with multitudes of your race scattered throughout the world found a natural response in the minds of those responsible for the government of this country, because they are in permanent accord with the sentiments of the people of Great Britain. I have to-day had the honour of receiving addresses from the representatives of three elements most intimately concerned in the establishment of a rule of order and justice in an area which has hitherto been the prey of tyranny and outrage. The fulfilment of the historic hopes and aspirations to which you refer in your address is, I believe, an essential corollary to the necessary enfranchisement of the oppressed peoples of the Near East.

THE UNITED STATES AND PALESTINE.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S DECLARATION.

President Wilson has written a letter to Rabbi Stephen Wise, of New York, giving a formal assurance that the United States sympathises with the traditional effort of Jewry throughout the world to establish a home for themselves in Palestine, and expressing satisfaction at the progress of the Zionist movement since the publication of Mr. Balfour's Declaration. The President alludes with satisfaction to the work of the Weizmann commission and to the progress made in the project of a Jewish university in Jerusalem.

"The letter," say the Washington Correspondent of the *Times*, "is taken as tantamount to a recognition by the United States of American interest in the Zionist venture, such as France and Italy as well as Great Britain have already given. If this interpretation is correct, it makes a considerable forward step in American policy regarding the Peace settlement in general and the Near East in particular."

The New York correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, commenting on the letter, says that "next to the recognition of the Czecho-Slovaks, the President's action is construed

here as by far the most important thrust at the *moral* of the Central Powers that has been made for many months." President Wilson follows almost verbatim the language of the Declaration of Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Cabinet."

Colonel Roosevelt, in the course of an address at New York, detailed what he considered should be the Allies' peace conditions. One of these is : Palestine must be made a Jewish State.

HUMAN PROGRESS IN THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

By ALLAN H. BRIGHT,

PRESIDENT.

UNTIL the advent of the present calamitous war it was a commonly accepted doctrine that we lived in an age of Progress, and that men were continuously rising "on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things."

Recent events are compelling us to review preconceived ideas. It is my intention to-night to examine how far this claim to Progress in the Christian Era can be substantiated, and to try the question as to whether and in what degree the Human Race has advanced or retrogressed.

I shall attempt to prove that there is no evidence of retrogression on the one hand, while there is equally no ground for complacent congratulation on the other at the alleged progress of Mankind, that the future is largely in the hands of the present, and that if the present is wisely used there is no reason for Pessimism.

The first point to consider is one of definition. What is meant by the word Progress and what is its real signification? It means and can only mean—a going forward—a step in advance.

It is obvious that a stationary condition can never be associated with the word * Progress, but it is a common error to confuse movement with Progress, and it is often a matter of acute debate whether some action is one of Progress or Retrogression.

* The desire for a good word as the foundation of a Party or a Cause is well known. Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, Ch. 3) alluded to it. Disraeli endorsed it. The word Progress has frequently been used without justification. The Party in the London County Council which favours Municipal collectivism calls itself the Progressive Party. Its creed may or may not be right, but it has clearly nothing to do with Progress.

In considering, therefore, whether the Human Race has Progressed, and to what extent in the period under review, I lay down two propositions.

First. That the period—less than two thousand years—is infinitesimally small in comparison with the Antiquity of Man, and that the difficulty of measurement is consequently very great.

Second. That it is quite modern to claim continuous Progress, and that this modern claim has largely arisen out of a false standard of value.

The first point may be quickly dismissed. Recent Geological Discoveries * have led to the belief that Man—as a reasonable animal—has in one form or another inhabited the Earth for one million years or thereabouts. When, therefore, we attempt to measure a space of time of two thousand years, it is evident that we are measuring something very small in relation to its total of one million years. It is as if we tried to estimate the daily growth of a child of three years old. We know that the child has grown, but in relation to its life the advance is negligible.

The second proposition is best proved by the terminology of language. It has become the habit of our generation to assume that Human Progress is constant. This assumption owes its inception to the undoubted, recent and startling triumphs of applied Science. But Progress results, as I shall show, not from increased knowledge, but from the manner in which that knowledge is applied. The Ancients made no such arrogant pretence of continuous Progress. Such names and phrases as The Golden Age of the Antonines, in which, according to Gibbon,† “the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous,” The Dark Ages, The Renaissance,

* See *The Antiquity of Man*, by Arthur Keith, p. 510.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. 3.

The Reformation, The Revolution, all prove that until a recent date there was no conception of a continuous and established Progress. An acquaintance with the literature of the Renaissance and the Revolution shews that the poets, the statesmen and the philosophers of both periods persistently reverted to the models of Ancient Greece and Rome for their inspiration. As a rule they made little claim to originality, but endeavoured to shape modern conditions in accordance with the teachings of the classical past. Each set-back, in its time, was followed by a returning tide, and it may be argued with plausibility that each returning tide carried civilization a little further. Latin culture was submerged in the Dark Ages by the barbarian floods—but the Dark Ages in turn disappeared as the Renaissance began to dawn upon the World. The discoveries in Science of the last hundred years are the cause of the general belief in modern Progress; but unless knowledge is accompanied by an equal advance in the right application of knowledge, it is not real Progress. Scientific Progress to be beneficial must be accompanied by equal Ethical Progress—otherwise it is and must be mischievous.

What is the definition of Ethics? I think the best short definition I can give is that Ethics is "The Science of the goodness of Man and of his Duty in Life."

Some years ago the late Sir Leslie Stephen wrote,
 * "A nation acquires new mechanical powers, but it has not

* *The Science of Ethics*, 2nd Ed., p. 428.

Cf. also Rasselas, Ch. 6, "A Dissertation on the Art of Flying."
 "If men were all virtuous, returned the Artist, I should with great alacrity teach them all to fly. But what would be the security of the good if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? Against an army sailing through the clouds, neither walls, nor mountains, nor seas could afford any security. A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind, and light at once with irresistible violence upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them.

"Even this valley, the retreat of princes, the abode of happiness might

yet the habits necessary to turn them to account, and they are so many temptations to immoral indulgence."

As a homely illustration of this truth let us suppose the case of the man who first invented a razor. If this man—the inventor of an article of luxurious civilization—had employed his invention not to the improvement of his own and his neighbours' personal appearance, but had used his instrument to cut his neighbours' and then his own throats, it is true that this man would have been a promoter of Scientific, but certainly not of Ethical Progress.

It cannot be too strongly insisted that it is not the conquest and domination of nature through scientific discovery, but the use to which that discovery is put that denotes Progress or Retrogression. In this matter it is too common to confuse cause and effect. The Scientific discovery is the cause, and it is the effect which results from that discovery that counts. Is the discovery turned to good or evil purpose—that is the test?

* "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul"? It is by this test that modern education must be tried, and it is by this test that it too often fails.

Education is merely a cause not a consequence, it is a means not an end—an instrument but not a product. Unless it is able to teach men Wisdom, which is an end in itself, it is a failure. If it merely inculcates a sordid

be violated by the sudden descent of some of the naked nations that swarm on the coast of the southern sea."

The first edition was published in 1759.

See also *The Complaint of Peace*, by Erasmus, 1917 Ed., p. 41. "God made man unarmed. But anger and revenge have mended the work of God, and furnished his hands with weapons invented in hell. Christians attack Christians with engines of destruction fabricated by the devil. A cannon! a mortar! no human being could have devised them originally; they must have been suggested by the Evil One."

* St. Mark, viii, 36.

materialism, creates a demand for self-indulgence and instils a knowledge of how to use Science for selfish gratification—then education so far from being beneficial is a positive evil. The craze for a scientific education—not as supplementary but as opposed to a classical and literary education is material, dangerous, and therefore retrogressive. The greatest teachers, philosophers and masters of past times—Aristotle, Plato, Dante, Leonardo da Vinci, Erasmus, More, Descartes, Newton and many others would have scorned many of the modern materialistic men of Science. Buckle has noted this distinction between the Thinker and the Practical man. He says * “after the death of Locke in 1704, and that of Newton in 1727, there was in England a singular dearth of great speculative thinkers; and this not because the ability was wanting; but because it was turned partly into practical pursuits, partly into political contests.”

The Ancient Philosophers were Scientific teachers rather than teachers of Science. It was knowledge as conducing to wisdom rather than the application of that knowledge to material interest which was their chief aim. We are thus brought face to face with the question as to whether the great scientific discoveries which have been showered so abundantly upon us, and which have become so much a part of our life, are really making us happier and better? We wonder what we should do without the telephone, but many of us remember when the telephone had not been invented, and we seemed to live then just as happily as we do to-day. If under the fierce flame of the present war many of the so-called amenities of life disappeared, it is probable that before long we should scarcely miss them. Had we lived at Pompeii in the first century we should have had no railway to convey us if we

* *History of Civilization*, Ed. 1899, vol. II, Ch. vii, p. 374.

wished to travel, no possibility of sending a telegram, no gas or electricity to light our houses or our streets, but judging from a survey of the ruins of that town, it is evident that men lived as comfortably and as happily as they do to-day in Margate. The very modernness of these Ancients surprises. The country life of the younger Pliny as revealed in his charming letters was most civilized. The standard of intellectual cultivation and of material comfort was as high though different from what would be found now under similar circumstances. There is a great gulf between the Roman country gentleman and Squire Western in Fielding's 18th Century novel of *Tom Jones*, though both are types of their class and of their time. The former was an educated gentleman of wide sympathies; the latter, a rowdy, illiterate, hard-drinking, good-natured sportsman. Pliny built and endowed a* Public Library at Como. The Library and the endowment have disappeared. †He assisted in establishing a secondary school so that the children of the neighbourhood should no longer be forced to resort to Milan for their education. The very sites of his Villa and his School are unknown.

In considering our civilization of to-day—with its claim to Progress—it is well to try to form an opinion as to what life was like in the second century. Practically the whole civilized World was comprised in the Roman Empire. Throughout this great territory with the exception of the frontiers, where there was continual fighting, universal peace reigned.‡ Travelling was easy and rapid—far more so than at any other time before the Advent of Railways. In case of need an average speed of ten miles

* Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 193.

Plin. Epis. I, 8; v. 7.

† Dill, p. 194, Plin. iv, 13.

‡ Dill, p. 206.

an hour might be attained on the main roads. * The Inns were generally bad. There was no Hotel Metropole at Baïæ—the Roman Brighton. There was one official language throughout the World, and that language was Latin.

Latin almost to our time remained a polite and necessary language, which all men of education must know. All theses were written in it, and it was the medium of communication between learned men and societies. It still lingers in the Doctors' prescriptions, but has recently been eliminated as a compulsory subject from the medical course of our Northern Universities—a very reactionary step. It is singular that these Universities in depreciating Latin should have accomplished what Frederick the Great attempted to do for the Prussian Universities.† He was fortunately dissuaded from abolishing its use by the timely intervention of the eminent Swiss Physicist—Haller. While Latin is thus fighting an apparently losing battle, the need of a universal language is so generally felt that the fantastic Esperanto has been invented!

Throughout the whole Roman Empire there was no idea of race. This confusion or negation of race ‡ has been stigmatised by Houston Chamberlain as The Chaos.

It may be equally claimed as the highest state of civilization. Its importance, however, cannot be over-

* Dill, p. 207.

† *Mémoires de J. Casanova*, vol. IV, Ch. 14.

Il m'en montra une d'un académicien de Berlin, dont j'ai oublié le nom et qui lui disait que, depuis que le roi avait lu sa lettre, il ne pensait plus à supprimer la langue latine. Haller avait écrit à Frédéric le Grand qu'un souverain qui réussirait dans la malheureuse entreprise de proscrire de la république des lettres la langue de Cicéron et de Virgile élèverait un monument immortel à sa propre ignorance.

‡ *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. The dates which follow are those of the reigns of rulers. In other cases those of birth and death.

estimated. The Emperor Philip (244-249) was an Arab, * St. Augustine (354-430), born in Tagaste near Carthage, was, I presume, also an Arab, or had Arab blood in his veins. The great statesman and general, Stilicho (359-408), was a Vandal. The great Emperor Justinian (527-565), was probably a Slav. His equally great general, Belisarius (505-565), was certainly a Slav, and his other general, Narses (478-573), was a Persian. St. Zeno—the first Bishop of Verona (362-380) was an Ethiopian—a black man.

The country houses were unfortified, which indicates a state of peace, never again reached even in England until after the Commonwealth. The arts of decoration, architecture and statuary were appreciated and encouraged. The standard of comfort was high. Why then did this great civilization fall to pieces? Among the various causes which contributed to its destruction, the principal one was Political Stagnation. The Central Government had become all powerful—there was no opposition, and consequently no public spirit.

† Dr. Dill says, "The bureaucratic system of Government stifled all interest in public affairs in the natural governing class. Masters of vast domains, yet excluded as an order, from real political power, the great mass of the senatorial class were condemned to a sterile life of fantastic luxury, literary trifling or sullen reserve." Nor was the position of the Working Classes any better. They were either slaves or kept in idleness by an evil system of State-‡ Socialism—the policy of free bread and circuses.

Robust and healthy life,—whether individual or cor-

* See Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I, p. 310.

† *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 211.

‡ Juvenal *Duas tantum res anxius optat, Panem et Circenses*, Sat. x, 80.

porate, can only be preserved by struggle. * This is one of the inexorable laws of nature. The strong plant pushes itself over the weak plant, and finally destroys it. The weaker animal falls a victim to the stronger. Christianity and Civilization may mitigate the harshness of this Law, but they are powerless to rescind it; if they were to succeed, mankind would disappear—like the Roman Empire—a victim of atrophy and consequent death.

The Western Empire fell in A.D. 476, but the Eastern Empire survived in some form until A.D. 1453, when Constantinople was captured by the Turks. This survival of the Eastern Empire is not easily explained. It was nearer the East—the main source of disturbance and invasion, and therefore more likely to be overwhelmed. Was it preserved solely by the Geographical position of Constantinople, or were there other causes at work? Was there a greater public spirit in its Government which may have tended to avert the decay so marked in Italy? Had the political factions of the blues and greens which sprang out of the absurd rivalries of the Circus anything to do with this prolonged vitality? These are questions which I am unable to answer.

The recognition of the Christian Religion by the Emperor Constantine (306-337) could not save a decaying civilization. The Pagan cult was decrepit and dying, and the gradual transfer of the buildings and emoluments to the

* It is true as Prince Kropotkin has pointed out in his *Mutual Aid* that there is another and qualifying tendency running through creation, but this does not eliminate though it does modify the stronger motive—the struggle for existence. Erasmus had already noticed this in his *Complaint of Peace* (see Ed. 1917, p. 4 and 5). "Lions show no fierceness to the lion race. The boar does not brandish his deadly tooth against his brother boar. The lynx lives in peace with the lynx. The serpent shows no venom in his intercourse with his fellow serpents, and the loving kindness of wolf to wolf is proverbial." The 1st Edition was printed in 1518.

new religion was not difficult of accomplishment. The chief * title of the Pagan Priesthood—Pontifex Maximus came to be adopted by the Bishops of Rome and is used by the Pope to-day.

†The quarrel between the Emperor Julian, the Apostate (361-363) and the Church was not primarily one of religion. It was a quarrel about Education. The Church was attempting and nearly succeeded in stamping out Classical study in the so-called interests of religion.

It is a controversial point as to whether learning and literature have gained or lost most from the Church.

‡Gregory the Great (590-604) was the avowed enemy of classical literature, and his influence unhappily survived him. On the other hand learning was certainly saved by St. Benedict (480-544), and it is impossible to overestimate the debt which the world owes to that great man and to the Order established by him.

The delay in the discovery of such a simple art as that of printing is remarkable. The explanation is that the production of Manuscript books was equal to the demand. The publisher or bookseller at the time of the Roman Empire employed slave labour, and an edition of a popular work might reach a § thousand copies in number. A book of Martial's verses is known to have sold for || 3/6—the same price as charged for the last volume of poetry by Sir

* Probably first adopted in the time of Justinian. See Larousse, *Art Pontifice*. Pope Calixtus (219-223) was called Pontifex Maximus by Tertullian, *Cath. Ency. Art. Pope*. See also *The Making of Western Europe, Dark Ages*, by Fletcher, p. 68.

† Dill's *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 386 and p. 395.

Fletcher, *The Making of Western Europe—Dark Ages*, p. 61.

‡ Fletcher, p. 103 and 152.

§ Pliny. *Ep iv*, 7.

|| *A Handy Book about Books*, by John Power, p. 121.

William Watson. * There was a daily press—At a later date the production of books was largely the work of the Benedictines, and they were easily able to provide for the needs of the World at a time when the laity were grossly illiterate. It suited the Church to control the production and issue of books. † When, therefore, printing was invented many good Churchmen doubtless felt that if the Church did not destroy the Printing Press, the Printing Press would destroy the Church. This distrust of Progress has frequently recoiled upon the Church and damaged the human race. It is now admitted that the children of the Clergy, owing to the poverty of their early surroundings and the value placed upon education by their parents, are the most successful of all classes in the battle of life. By confining her Priesthood to Celibacy, the Church for long retained in her hands knowledge, education and power, but she retarded the advancement of the human race by condemning the most intellectual portion of the community to sterility.

I think that the Social habits of humanity furnish a test as to the Progress of mankind at any given epoch—‡ Slavery, especially Agricultural Slavery, which had flourished during the Roman Empire had almost disappeared from Europe by the Fifteenth Century, largely owing to the disapproval of the Church. The discovery of America lowered the moral sense of the community and revived slavery. It was not indeed until the commencement of the Nineteenth Century that the World had in this respect recaptured the ethical position of the Fifteenth Century.

* *Acta Diurna.*

† Cf. Victor Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, Book V, Ch. II.
Ceci tuera cela.

‡ Acton's *History of Freedom and other Essays*, p. 39.

Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Ed. 1872, vol. I, Ch. II, Part II, p. 201.

* The art of bathing was long lost to the World after Witiges, King of the Goths, in March, 537, broke down the aqueducts which supplied Rome with water. The consequences of his action were that he turned the Campagna into a marsh—the home of the malarial mosquito, and altered the social habits of the world. Wherever the Romans had been they had established Baths. † These Baths and bathing establishments, whether in private houses or in public buildings, almost disappeared, and it has certainly not been for a longer period than the last fifty years that modern civilization has recovered what it had lost in this matter. But if culture was disappearing, or at all events to remain hidden in the Monasteries and to be the monopoly of Churchmen, all was not lost. There were compensations. The Dark Ages were not altogether dark. The birth of Nationality, the fight for civil liberties, the clash of authorities, the commencement of municipal life, the rise of the Papacy alike mark the period. The Country house had become a fortified Castle, the peasant no longer a slave had attained to serfdom, owning, however, service to his lord. The country gentleman was no longer a man of cultivation like Pliny or Sidonius Apollinaris, that great Roman Landowner, who lived and wrote at the end of the Fifth Century, and became Bishop of Clermont by popular election—but he was essentially a man of affairs—able and ready to defend himself and his property. He could neither read nor write. He left such matters to the Priests and Schoolmen. The one thread, which until the appearance of Charlemagne maintained the continuity of Western Civilization, was the Pope.

* *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*—Carter, p. 213.

Gibbon, Ch. 41.

† Prince Kropotkin has, however, pointed out that in Mediæval times the Saturday afternoon was reserved for bathing, and that this is the origin of the Saturday half-holiday. *Mutual Aid*, p. 148.

Charlemagne—that singular and very great man—who * never learnt to write, re-introduced order into Europe. Henceforth, with certain set-backs, there was almost continuous progress in the modern sense. Nations began to shape themselves. Towns rose to power and influence, and were able to resist—often successfully—the exactions of the neighbouring nobles. † The Church imposed the Truce of God to regulate private warfare—an approach to International Law. Political freedom was being won owing to the constant struggle between the Pope and the Emperor. The pulses of the Renaissance were beginning to beat. The Thirteenth Century saw the great Cathedrals and Churches built under the inspiration of the new Gothic Architecture, which had taught men how to build a strong arch cheaply and beautifully. The arts of illumination and of painting suddenly strode forward. Everything moved towards the advance of the Fifteenth Century with its revival of learning, its love of art and its speculative philosophy. Nor was this all. The Age of Chivalry had commenced shortly after the time of Charlemagne. With all its absurdities it introduced rules, and hence mitigations into the art of fighting. It prescribed a code of conduct, and was a step in civilization and international law. The Crusades, which commenced in 1095, were the product of very varied motives. These were religious enthusiasm, love of personal adventure, but above all, the desire of various potentates to occupy ‡ “a great many people whom the long civil war had rendered reckless or homeless.” They found employment for the § unemployed. The

* Fletcher, *Western Europe. The Dark Ages*, p. 253.

† Fletcher, *Western Europe. The First Renaissance*, p. 30.

‡ Fletcher, *Western Europe. The Renaissance*, p. 345.

§ The question of unemployment arising out of the peace which succeeded war was a difficult problem in the middle ages and later. The building of Churches appears frequently to have been undertaken

Crusades had this advantage over modern wars, that they killed the useless and undesirable, whereas such is the irony of our scientific progress that modern warfare destroys the best stock, leaving the young, the aged and the unsound to continue the race.

In many respects the Fifteenth Century was inferior to the Thirteenth. The art was more florid and less pure. Science, however, had progressed sometimes slowly, sometimes quickly, but almost always continuously. When the Greeks defended their capital* from the attacks of the Saracens in 671, with Greek fire, they were only employing in a more primitive fashion the very weapon which is to-day used upon the Flanders Front. The German Monk, Berthold Schwartz, in 1320, discovered or re-discovered gunpowder. By so doing he added to scientific knowledge, but he also added a curse to the destiny of man—a curse which has been greatly developed in our generation. It is only within comparatively recent times that scientific discovery has been given free scope. Its march has been retarded by the fear of the Church, that divine revelation might be shaken, and by the vulgar belief that the pursuit of science was only possible with the assistance of Diabolic Agency. The Alchemists—a persecuted race—were frequently scientific men, and their chief tenet—† the transmutation of metals is now, I believe, partially accepted.

Town life in the Fifteenth Century was as agreeable, or more agreeable than city life to-day. It was quite as safe.

‡ Food which consisted of meat, (fresh and salt) fish,

by rich individuals and families, not only for devotion, but also as a means of finding employment.

* Fletcher, *Western Europe. Dark Ages*, p. 207.

† See the late Sir William Ramsay's Communication to *Nature*, 18th July, 1907, on the changes produced by Radium.

‡ *England in the Fifteenth Century*, W. Denton, p. 209, Thorold Rogers *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 415.

bread, puddings, eggs and cheese, was usually abundant, though subject to scarcity through failure of harvests. Beer and wine were the usual drinks, * while warm drinks made with wine, spices, etc., were common. † Spices were much valued and were used in cookery as digestives and correctives, at a time when fresh vegetables in winter were unknown. If bread be excepted, which has been, is, and will be the principal food of man, the four commonest articles of diet to-day—Potatoes, Sugar, Tea, and Coffee—were unknown, or at least unused four centuries ago. Clothing was made of canvas, woollen, linen or silk, and its quality was usually better than that of to-day. The houses of the rich Burgers were handsomely and luxuriously furnished, and a high standard of comfort prevailed. With one exception life was as safe as it is to-day. There was less danger of death or damage by accident, though rather more from wars or street-brawls. On the whole, however, fighting was more common than killing.

The great exception was the danger from disease. Medicine was still in its infancy, and epidemics which annihilated whole populations, such as The Plague, The Black Death, The Sweating Sickness, and others, were too prevalent.

‡ The workman was attached to his Master in the same craft-guild; its basis was co-operation, and it was altogether unlike the modern Trade Union, the basis of which is unhappily—Antagonism.

* It is singular how mankind has always liked warm drinks. Almost every wine shop discovered in Pompeii has its boiler in which water was boiled to make a drink of hot water, wine and herbs. See article *Calida*—Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities.

† See *A History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments*, Ed. 1862. Wright, p. 355.

‡ *Town Life in The Fifteenth Century*. Alice Stopford Green. Vol. II, p. 112.

Wars, although destructive and cruel, especially towards non-combatants owing to the armies being professional, were very local. * Pacifism, which had been introduced into the Roman Empire by the early Christians, and had greatly embarrassed the Emperors, was not unknown in the Fifteenth Century. † There is an amusing story illustrating this. When Florence was fighting against the Duke of Milan a law was passed prohibiting anyone—on pain of death, from mentioning peace. A begging friar coming into the Market Place accosted a witty citizen, by name Bernard, with the usual salutation, "Pax Tibi," Bernard replied, "Why do you speak of peace, do you not know it is a capital offence to speak of Peace? I shall go away lest it be thought I am your accomplice." So the begging friar got nothing.

Art flourished in spite of continual strife. The work of the silver-smith was at a high level in Germany during The Thirty Years War (1618-1648)—a war which reduced the ‡ population from sixteen to under six millions, more, however, by disease and starvation than by slaughter.

The numerous Manuscript Hour Books attest the high quality and strenuous persistence of the French and Flemish Artists during the Hundred Years War (1338-1453).

Strange as it may seem to us the wanton destruction of property does not appear to have been looked upon with favour. § The sack of Rome in 1527 is usually ascribed to the accident of the death of the Constable of Bourbon at the time of the assault. It certainly was not premeditated. || When Magdeburg was destroyed in 1631 by Tilly's

* Gibbon. *Decline and Fall*. Ch. 15.

† *Pogii Florentini Facietiarum*, London, 1798, vol. I, p. 57.

‡ *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IV, p. 418, Dr. A. W. Ward.

§ *Italy, Mediæval and Modern*, p. 235.

|| *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IV, p. 203.

soldiers, such was the horror throughout Europe that Tilly was careful to assert that its destruction had been contrary to his orders. The public opinion of Europe was aroused and condemnatory when the famous Library at Heidelberg was removed during the same war to the Vatican, where it still is.* Dr. Ward writes of the episode, "The deportation of the famous Palatine Library is an outrage unforgotten in the history of civilization." The destruction of the Louvain Library in 1914, under the stimulus of German culture and on the instructions of the German Authorities, had not then occurred. The sack of Antwerp in 1576 by the mutinous Spanish soldiery is another instance. It is recorded in the pages of history as if it were an altogether exceptional crime—"The Spanish Fury."

These instances and other similar ones do not exceed in horror, even if they equal it, the action of the Germans in Belgium and the occupied portion of France.

There is however, this difference, that whereas in former times such cruelties were usually perpetrated by a soldiery out of control and were disowned, sometimes tardily, by the Commanders of the Armies, in the case of the present war they have been admittedly a part of the regular policy of terrorism, sanctioned and organized by the German Authorities. In this respect there has been an ethical retrogression.

If we turn from the contemplation of the barbarities of warfare to the frequency of wars we find little to console us. † A democracy is as prone to the madness of carnage

* *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IV, p. 82.

† See Lord Grenville's letter of April 28th, 1797, quoted in *Essays on the Administrations of Great Britain, from 1783 to 1830*, by Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, p. 141.

"It is a curious speculation in history to see how often the good people of England have played this game over and over again, and how incorrig-

as any other form of Government. Wars are invariably popular with the crowd at their commencement. The period from 1815 to 1914 was a singularly peaceful epoch in history, but it must be remembered that it followed nearly a generation of exhausting warfare, caused in the first instance by the * French Democracy of the Revolution desiring to impose its Philosophy upon Europe in much the same manner as the Germans attempted in 1914 to impose their "Kultur" on an unwilling world.

From the Public Ethics of War to private morals seems an easy step, but the ground is very treacherous. The facts are much more difficult to discover. It is as difficult to dogmatise upon the morals of any particular age as it is to form a reliable opinion about the sobriety of a nation from the police prosecutions for drunkenness.

† Morals can only be better or worse within a narrow range of limits. If they transcend a certain degree of badness Society must dissolve.

Ancient Rome has been largely and probably unfairly condemned owing to the lurid pictures of society contained in the works of Martial and Juvenal. ‡ In Dr. Dill's view

ible they are in it. To desire war without reflection—to be unreasonably elated with success, to be still more unreasonably depressed by difficulties—and to call out for peace with an impatience which makes suitable terms unattainable, are the established maxims and the regular progress of the popular mind in this country. Yet such as it is, it is worth all the other countries of the world put together; so we must not too much complain of it"

* Marvin, *The Unity of Western Civilization*, p. 87.

See also *The Decree of The National Convention*, 15th Dec., 1792.

† See *Organic to Human*, by Maudsley, p. 270. "The Fundamental principles of morality have been the same in all known civilizations; there could have been no such civilizations had they not been evolved in them."

See also *The Nature of Man*, by Elie Metchnikoff, p. 107. Popular Edition. Also *Buckle*, vol. I. p. 225. "In what may be called the innate, and original morals of mankind, there is so far as we are aware, no progress."

‡ Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 65.

Juvenal exaggerated. — * It seems probable that there were just as many good and virtuous people in Rome as there are in a Modern City of the same size.

The religion of Paganism was grossly immoral, and produced a great coarseness of mind. But Buckle† has pointed out that Voltaire and Constant remarked "that licentious religious ceremonies have no connection with licentious national morals." Vice, no doubt, is to-day as common in a modern city as it was in an Ancient City of Italy. The matter is and must be largely one of conjecture. Morals depend on circumstances. When there is a rich society with few responsibilities, Morals deteriorate; when life is hard and there is little wealth, morals tend to be pure.

We are upon surer ground when we consider Philanthropy and Private Benevolence.

‡ The great Roman Nobles loved ostentatious benefactions. Libraries, Schools, Temples, Aqueducts, Race Courses, Theatres, Gladiatorial Exhibitions were frequently bestowed upon the citizens of some town or other with which the Donor was connected.

* See Lecky *European Morals*, vol. II, p. 327.

I am aware that until recently the accepted idea of the pagan noble, taken largely from the biassed writings of the early Fathers of the Church, was that of Matthew Arnold when he wrote *Obermann Once More*.

"In his cool hall, with haggard eyes
The Roman noble lay;
He drove abroad, in furious guise,
Along the Appian way."

It would be equally fair to judge modern Society by the vagaries of a Road-Hog!

† *History of Civilization*, vol. II, p. 303.

‡ See Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, p. 195 and 224, where the matter is fully discussed. Lecky (*European Morals*, vol. II, p. 78, *et seq.*) depreciates Pagan Charity, but the more recent discovery of inscriptions referred to by Dr. Dill seems to settle the matter finally. It is, however, true, that Christianity introduced a personal sympathy in benevolence which was wanting in Paganism.

After the fall of the Roman Empire benefactions were generally of a religious character. Churches were built, Universities endowed, and Monasteries established by Pious Founders.

The Seventeenth, Eighteenth and first half of the Nineteenth Centuries were poorest in practical Philanthropy. It may be that Protestantism, with its concomitant individualism, checked the benevolent instinct. Anyhow the benefactions of the time were smaller and less splendid.

Almshouses, doles of bread for poor widows, apprenticeship funds were the low level to which the charitable attained. We have gone back to the Roman practice—though it is doubtful if we have surpassed it. Parks, Hospitals, Schools, Churches, Institutes, Universities are among the objects of modern benevolence.

Has there been Progress in Art? In Literature? Where are we to look for a Raphael, a Titian, a Velasquez? In Literature, for a Virgil, a Dante or a Shakespeare? In War—for a Julius Cæsar, a Turenne, a Marlborough or a Napoleon. Yet never in the whole History of the World has so much money been spent upon education. The old principle of Education, at least in England, was based upon character. The training to-day is of an opposite sort—to subordinate individuality, and in its place to create a machine. And yet we are told that there is not enough scientific education. Undoubtedly there has been great Scientific progress, but whether this has been for the benefit of man, is not so certain. Its main beneficial achievements have been in medicine and surgery, and in its consequent power over disease and suffering.

In the present war while the destruction by instruments of warfare has been far in excess of anything hitherto experienced, the loss of life by disease has been far below, and the recovery of the wounded has been far above any-

thing previously known. * If, however, this war continues much longer, and the populations of Europe are further enfeebled by starvation, bad feeding and privation, it is safe to predict that following the course of history some new and strange epidemic, which will defy the Doctors and Scientists, will appear just as The Black Death, The Sweating Sickness, The Plague, and other scourges appeared in the Middle Ages and later. Never has a war been fought more bitterly or more ruthlessly than this war. Little consideration has been asked and little given on either side. The only Service which has maintained something of the old courtesy of arms has strangely enough been the most recent acquisition—the Air Service. The use of Gas, the sinking of Hospital Ships, the ill-treatment of prisoners by the Germans, have naturally introduced mutual bitterness. The scientific perfection of the instruments of war has not led to increase humanitarianism.

A scientific education, in contrast to a classical one, has the tendency to harden and narrow the mind, driving it into the groove of specialization. The specialist—unless he has wider interests—can never make the best citizen, because he lives his life in blinkers.

The great ages of Man have been those in which the Individual has had the fullest scope for his faculties—as in the age of Queen Elizabeth. The huge industries of to-day are destructive of the individuality of the worker. This he feels consciously or unconsciously, and hence he gravitates towards Socialism, which can never supply the remedy. It is not unlikely that the subordination of the Individual to the State will prove the undoing of Germany, while the Individualism of ourselves, which unfortunately the Government is at present seriously damaging by State regulations, and of the United States, has developed, and

* See *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, by J. F. C. Hecker, M.D

is developing resources of character and material which are wanting in a more highly organized and bureaucratic State.

A logical Socialism is contrary to all Progress. It postulates no reward for energy, industry, invention. All are to work without hope of individual advantage for the common good. It leaves out of account human nature. The very rules of life—for life is a struggle for existence—are ignored.

A profit and loss account of the discoveries of Science as they have affected Mankind would be a strange document. How many of these discoveries have been beneficial, how many harmful, and how many both beneficial and harmful? The discoveries in Medicine, Surgery and Sanitation are absolutely beneficial; others such as high explosives, cannons, machine-guns, submarines would fall into the second category, while railways, telephones, motors belong to that class of inventions which may be applied in varying degrees, either to the benefit or injury of Man.

The modern battle-field—a finished product of Science—with its hecatombs of slaughtered victims, with its ground churned into mud and dust, its buildings blotted out as if they had not been, presents a scene which former generations would have thought incredible. Yet who can say that Science has uttered its last word, or that even the present horrors will not be exceeded in the future, if the secrets of nature are to be further misused by Man—as they will be—unless there is a greater progress in Ethics? In the pursuit of Science we have created a Monster far more dangerous than the monster created by Frankenstein in Mary Shelley's Novel. * A German Philosopher, Hartmann, with possibly some prophetic vision of the

* *Hein. Gottlob Hartmann*, 1828—1878, quoted by Elie Metchnikoff. *The Nature of Man*, p. 185.

manner in which his nation was going to use the discoveries of Science, wrote in 1869, "The happiest people are those who are the rudest and most primitive, and amongst civilized races the uneducated classes. It is well known that the progress of education increases discontent. The progress of science contributes little or nothing to the absolute happiness of the world."

"Practically speaking this progress is of advantage to politics, social life, morality and the arts; but factories, steam-boats, railways, telegraphs have so far done no positive good to humanity." Man has become the slave of the machine. He thinks he controls it. It controls him. And yet so blind are many of our so-called teachers that neglecting the cult of ethics they urge upon us more and more science, nor will they apparently be satisfied in their mad pursuit until they have discovered that * Vril, of which Lord Lytton wrote, and by which the whole race of man could be destroyed in one inglorious suicide. I believe, however, there is hope that many of the best minds are moving towards a more sane and more liberal education, and that the apotheosis of science is beginning to be felt to be a danger. It is in the study and inculcation of Ethics, it is in the teaching of the humanities, in the subordination and not the tyranny of Science and its undue exaltation—that salvation lies. It is probable that the poverty and the suffering which will follow this war at the conclusion of Peace will teach men that there is something after all greater than Materialism, and that consequently we may be about to witness a great advance, a real progress in ethics, in art, in literature, in all that makes life worth living.

* *The Coming Race.*

HAPPINESS: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LAWS AND CONDITIONS BY WHICH IT WOULD SEEM TO BE GOVERNED.

By C. Y. C. DAWBARN, M.A.

IT is, I am afraid, a somewhat dismal subject which we have taken for our consideration this evening. Until I had begun to jot down my ideas, I had not realised how dismal it was. Groves of yews rather than banks of flowers seem most suggested. The consideration of happiness in a proper spirit is really a most solemn affair, not to say duty. "We have so much to be thankful for," "A silver lining to every cloud," "Count up our mercies one by one," and yet it is when we are in this count up our mercies frame of mind that our frame of mind usually is not exactly what we should call happy. And here a great truth I think emerges: When we are most happy we are least given to an analysis of our feelings. We simply exist: find a pleasure in it, and ask neither why nor how. It is when days are dark that we begin to speculate on the mystery of happiness. Now it is a mystery, then it was a fact. Then we enjoyed happiness, now it is our duty to do so. Now we are resignedly happy—we all know the experience—and when thus resignedly happy—well, friends somehow have calls elsewhere. Here we must differentiate between a duty to be happy and a duty to be cheerful. Others present, and this last is an absolute duty, not that the world is hard, but it hates being bored. Rejoice, and rejoice in fellowship; sorrow, and seek the seclusion of your own inner chamber. Thus the social convention due to life's

amenities. I should say pre-war convention, for to-day the world is more inclined to give its sympathy than many a poor broken heart to ask it. And the smiling face still rules, the smiling face that will bear rather than add to another's load. And it has its reward. Force yourself to smile—and at times hard it is—and it will reflect some small ray of light back into your own heart.

And never was time when this subject of happiness was of more importance than to-day. War may be inevitable; war may be unavoidable; but to-day war has been loosed upon the world with unspeakable ferocity by our beast enemy, and the flood gates have been opened as never before in history, and society is in the melting-pot. War is a fiery furnace to reduce old thought, old traditions, old habits to one molten mass. In what mould shall it be fashioned? Shall history repeat itself, or shall a new and brighter future emerge from the trial? And do we really know what is really desirable? Our problems of war have been serious; more so will be our problems of peace. And we shall have to note the same propaganda. War has been made excuse for every man beating his own drum; peace will find no less intemperate musicians. Musicians! hardly a happy simile. The last thing they will attempt will be to keep time or play together, rather each will artistically try to "o'er top the rest," and I am afraid the result will be noise more discordant than harmonious. The professed end, happiness, will be the same with all, but the ways will be as numerous as the guides, and with no two alike. We know that what we all desire, is hour by hour an agreeable consciousness, *i.e.*, that as each moment speeds along on its way it may find us satisfied and contented, otherwise happy. And if this be the order of our life from the first dawn of light to the last drawing of the curtain we may be well content. This is what all desire,

but what the conditions to secure such agreeable consciousness, is subject of more violent contention. As far as this life is concerned, it is and must be our end. Another world, another existence may promise compensations, but these we cannot now take into our consideration, as it would trespass on too many secret thoughts too sacred to be discussed.

Now before we consider happiness in its many aspects, above all should we note how it is found by different people in such entirely different ways. The greatest error we can possibly commit is to think that what brings us happiness will also bring like happiness to others, or that conditions intolerable to ourselves would be equally terrible to everyone else. To us, life in the squalor and dirt of slumland conjures up such awful pictures that we should hail death as a welcome alternative. We could not exist in such purlieus of civilization. More, we never should. Transplant us here present into the lowest, filthiest part of the city, and in a week it would be washed, cleansed and sanitary. Then again transfer its inhabitants to our homes, and in the same time they would become dens of dirt and nastiness. We attribute to others emotions we should feel if we were in their conditions, when as a fact they are wholly dissimilar. This is the same whether we look up or down. We see little but the glory of royal pomp, but uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, and we pity many a poor little child of slumland, which after all may be tumbling over its fellows in merriment and delight. To think justly of happiness we must see it, not through our own eyes, but through the eyes of those whose conditions we are taking into consideration. And it is amazing the conditions under which some do find happiness; equally amazing the conditions under which some wholly fail of doing so. To a certain extent

happiness may be under one's own control. There are certainly the two types. The Mrs. Gummidges, who to be paradoxical, seem to find their happiness in being miserable, and the Mark Tapleys, who rise superior to every kick of fortune. There are those who must cultivate all that keeps annoyance fresh, or sorrow green. Nursing his wrath to keep it warm—a familiar proverb—and who does not see the man cherishing his grievance; as also the poor sad mother with lost little one, whom time would gently soothe, who must go daily to its grave to keep sad memories ever fresh. Then there are those who, in their very determination to be happy, find happiness. Famous in world's history is Epictetus, the slave stoic philosopher.

How is it possible—he says—that a man who has nothing, who is naked, houseless without a hearth, squalid, without a slave, without a city, can pass a life that flows easily? See. God hath sent you a man to show you that it is possible. Look at me, who am without a city, without a house, without possessions, without a slave; I sleep on the ground, I have no wife, no children, no prætorium, but only the earth and the heavens and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not without fear? Am I not free? When did any of you see me failing in the object of my desire? . . . Did I ever blame God or man? Did any of you see me with a sorrowful countenance?

Thus the man. As a slave he had been ill-used, and was lame owing to the cruel treatment of his master, and when he obtained his liberty he little improved his circumstances, still enjoying but the barest necessities of existence. Then he died, and the earthen lamp he studied by sold for 3,000 drachmas.* Poor Butler, of Hudibras fame, was not the only genius to whom his fellows refused bread, and gave a stone.

And instances accumulate of happiness found quite independent of conditions. The gamin of the gutter to

* Over £100.

whom we have referred, and the child tended by three nurses, may quarrel as to which has most joyous life. And a healthier happiness may be with the former rather than the latter. The one may find happiness in ebullition of spirits, the other in the parade of fine clothes and a smug superiority. 'It is not cricket' has become a proverb, so general our game, and so grand its traditions. But who finds most delight in it?—the public school boy, with all its finished improvements, or the office lad, with a back alley for a pitch, and a piece of brown paper tied up with string for a ball. In his Christmas Carols, Dickens has made much of this aspect of life, and it is not Scrooge the world envies. In fact, it would seem that satisfaction is most found in those conditions to which one is accustomed, or which are in the blood. We have on record a curious instance. A child of the slums, adopted by a rich man, brought up with his own boy, with him sent to Eton, in the end finds his happiness reverting to conditions more consonant with his birth than his upbringing. It is a commonplace how the bus driver out for a holiday must find his seat by a 'pal'; whilst many a lawyer on his travels will gravitate to the courts of other people. In strangest ways is happiness found. The wife of the Red Indian, drudge of the tribe, finds her pride in a lolling brave handsome lord, and would be shamed if he demeaned himself with work. The Laplander in his snow as much collapses with heat, as the child of the tropics shrivels up with cold. And so we could continue and continue. What rule of happiness do we evolve? Only that it is infinitely varied and full of infinite contradictions. We are not going to make the world happy by making it all alike. In fact, we are going to make it very unhappy if we try. Rather let us consider nature herself. Let us for a moment consider what life really is. Not that I am

going to attempt to define the word. It is far too thorny a subject. Nor am I sure that it can be defined. I am rather inclined to think that life is life begins and ends the matter. Either we understand what we mean by the word life or we do not, and if we do not, no definition will add to the clearness of our thought. Taking similes, the best seems to me that of a gas jet. You put a match to it, and you can turn the flame up and down as you please. You may reduce it to the minutest blue speck, but turn it up and it again revives; and so with endless repetition. But go ever so little further, turn out that little speck entirely, and you will turn the gas on again in vain. It will be no longer flame. And so our life, let it flicker, flicker ever so near to vanishing point, and it may again revive, but once fled and nothing but the torch from God's own Altar can restore the vital spark. However, whilst I think we fail in trying to define life—life is life—yet we learn much from the brilliant analysis of it by Herbert Spencer, who tells us that above all life is the power of adaptation to existing conditions by voluntary change. He goes so far as to find in this conclusion a definition even of life, but with this it is hard to agree. It is no definition of life, but of phenomena co-extensive as life, a definition not of life, but of its function—not exactly the same thing. But it is the fact which is all instructive, not the enunciation. And here we have the fact that let any living thing be placed in any condition, its supreme continued and mostly successful effort will be to adapt itself to the conditions in which it finds itself. And true throughout nature as a whole, it is especially true of the human race.

Whatever a man, wherever he finds himself, he will steadily adapt himself to his surroundings. And as generations pass he will largely succeed. There will be

action and reaction, he will modify his conditions, and his conditions will modify him, but this incessant effort will never cease. This attribute of life, this power of adaptation to existing conditions by voluntary change, is the most wonderful provision for securing happiness that the world possesses. It is the gift of a kindly nature, and indicates the lines on which we should map out human progress. When we would compel others to be happy in our way, we rather jeopardise than add to the happiness which is already theirs. This is no argument for leaving evil untouched, but only indicates that improvement rather than change should be our end. All our great thinkers are at one as to the disaster of sudden or excessive alterations. "Meddle not with those given to change" is divine ordinance, and as Bacon says, "it is true that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit." And his conclusion after many years is, "It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of life itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived." *Festina lente* was a motto he approved, "Make haste slowly," "Let us stay awhile that we may make an end the sooner." This is above all true with public affairs where the opportunities for error are so many. It is a trifling matter to perfect the most beautiful of theories—we all do it as easily as talking—but with our human limitations it is impossible to master every fact, and we all know how an awkward fact has made tragedy of our dearest dreaming. And then we shut our eyes to that said fact; will not see it, though our friends are by no means inclined to be equally blind. And that fact dominates the situation, and in the end we are put out of court and out of countenance by a thing to which we had not given a thought. And then as if to balance matters, prove us the sport of

nature, some accident, misfortune, sorrow or suffering which we had deplored, proves source of a life's success. Thus Bacon beautifully put it:—

Oh, what divinity there is in chance; accident is many times more subtle than foresight.

Or as Shakespeare has it—

Our indiscretions sometimes serve us well, when our dear plots do pall, and this should teach us: There's a divinity doth shape our ends, rough hew them how we will.

Reading these great works makes one feel how little progress has been made these many years, the last word having been said by this dual mind. Prose and poetry, we find in them the wisdom of the ages, and it is little we can improve or add. In science we have made enormous strides forward, but in the theory of life can we do much more than apply such teaching to modern conditions?

And here we note that happiness is found under two great heads, physical happiness and mental happiness. On both this great law of adaptation has mightiest influence. Considering first the physical aspect we realise how much it owes to it. The perpetuation of life is nature's first care, and apart from all other incidents we find how she ensures that there shall be a certain passive satisfaction in existence if nothing more. We appreciate this best if we consider its antithesis, negation as far as this world is concerned, otherwise death. Thus life always in antagonism to death finds pleasure in mere being, and fears the unknown.

The weariest and most loathed worldly life
Which age, ache, penury, or imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

Thus Claudio in *Measure for Measure*.

Hamlet strikes a similarly universal note when asking himself, why he should not end his perplexities in the Lethe of unending Sleep—

To sleep
 No more. And by a sleep to say we end
 The heart ache and the thousand natural shocks
 That flesh is heir to: 'Tis a consummation
 Devoutly to be wished. To die, to sleep—
 To sleep, perchance to dream—Ay there's the rub,
 For in that sleep of death what dreams may come
 When we have shuffled off this mortal coil
 Must give us pause: There's the respect
 That makes calamity of so long life;
 For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
 Th' oppressors' wrong, the poor man's contumely,
 The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
 The insolence of office, and the spurns
 That patient merit of the unworthy makes,
 When he himself might his quietus make
 With a bare bodkin.

Still the same clinging to existence this time in sickness—

Yet am I better
 Than one that's sick o' the gout, since he had rather
 Groan so in perpetuity, than be cured
 By the sure physician death.

Cymbeline, v, 4.

And thus we find the whole exquisitely summed up—

Death arrives gracious, only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons. To the poor Christian that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners and deposed kings. To them whose fortunes run back and whose spirits mutiny. Unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest. These wait upon the shores of death, and waft unto him to draw nigh; wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place; wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

And then the personal note which concludes the passage—

The night was even now, but that name is lost. It is not now late but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest, and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours as I had died the first hour I was born.*

And as we thus consider happiness in its physical aspect and its passive satisfaction in mere existence, our notice is drawn to the animal world. Here one universal law seems to prevail. *HEALTHY LIFE IS A HAPPY LIFE.* Given health, meat and drink, and an animal seems invariably happy. And we know the antipathy of the animal world to unhealthy life. Animals nearly always destroy their sickly fellows. Whether the doom is preceded by a period of snaps and snarls by the sickly one, which brings it into disfavour, and so the result, I am not sufficient naturalist to say. But the fact seems well substantiated, with the result the animal world is eminently a happy world. Here we observe the great difference between them and the human race. Our scope of suffering and enjoyment is fourfold theirs. We suffer and rejoice in our own persons and in those of our dear ones. We also suffer and rejoice in memory and anticipations as well as in passing events, whilst animals are limited mostly to their

* This extract is from Bacon's Essay on Death, and is one of the most beautiful and poetical passages in the English language. So though prose in form, it readily lends itself to metrical arrangement. How the "Shakespearean" can see no similarity of rhythm, thought, style, etc., between passages such as these and some of those in his folio plays, is a mystery which I have never been able to solve. I suppose the explanation is that the vast majority, starting with belief, devote their energies to substantiating such belief with facts and evidence specially selected for this end, rather than to proving its correctness or truth. So when facts cannot be found, they can be invented, and with the "orthodox" these serve equally well.

own individual sensibility and the passing time. And in this happiness of the animal we find instructive lesson. As we increase the intellectual outlook of man, no doubt we extend his horizon of pleasure, but also of sorrow. The less our intellectual nature is developed, the more conditions of happiness approximate to those of the animal. And with these so much more easily gratified, why seek to extend man's outlook? A pig in its sty with wash and plenty of it, has it not the full of the only happiness it can appreciate? Why flout this *pig philosophy*? why unsettle? Why care for higher things, doubtful factors, in adding to our material wellbeing? Why seek the North Pole? why solve literary problems? why care for beauty? why dream of idealism? Yes, why? I know no answer. If such a man's attitude, how successfully combat it is beyond me to suggest. And yet this pig philosophy what is it so offends us in its very enunciation? It is that we are more than animal, and we think foul scorn to limit ourselves by such animal outlook. Surely our very powers to look beyond are indication that we should look beyond, even if as the moment flies, we apparently profit nought. What would the world be to-day if every thought had been limited by the one test; has it a current cash value? No: there is a beyond, and into this beyond we must peer. As thinking beings we must peer and strive and fight to draw aside just a little the veil that divides us from the infinite. And it is to our great ones who have thus glimpsed into the great beyond, our seers and prophets that in the end the world owes its greatest debt. We are not all animal, materialistic. We have also a spiritual life, a life which will solve problems because they are problems, and not for any passing gain it may bring. Of course from its own standpoint this pig philosophy is unanswerable, only we have no common point of contact. At the same time

far be it from us to under rate this kindly gift of nature, this animal happiness. It is of no little advantage to have one certainty as foundation on which to build. In the world's fair, with so many showmen all crying in stentorian tones, "This way to the millennium," it is somewhat restful to dwell on one certainty, the certainty that healthy animal life is happy life. However bewildering the cries, this is undoubted; as we increase the health of man we increase his happiness as well. The commonplace of every reformer will be said. Yes, so far as making clean the outside of the cup and platter. But the root of the matter, can we go to it? dare we try? The supreme factor in healthy life is to be born of health-giving parents. To be thus born is the one supreme gift of heaven to man. Then should it not be the immutable right of every infant yet to be born? Well, I have known many a gospel preached with less justification, and perhaps some of you who love to run a crusade might take this as a novelty—*the right of the unborn to have health-giving parents*. It would be a gospel of joy to generations yet to be; it would be gospel of deliverance to many a poor little wretch doomed to the slavery of a vile bodily tenement with its first drawn breath; it would be a charter of freedom for a new made world; and if you have the true martyr spirit it will satisfy you more than to the full, for it will embroil you with your sentimental fellows for the rest of your mortal life. Preach animal health? animal happiness? when all the glory of an awakening soul may be your mission:—too horrible! So the hornets will buzz, and the gnats will sting and make you very miserable as a martyr should be.

But for all this, given animal health and happiness, and at least we have a substratum of certainty on which to build. And then going yet another step, as its immediate

development is to be found the delight of healthy life in activity. To the strong, navy or poet, the very pleasure of existence is the putting forth one's strength, whether strength of mind or body. Racing unnatural? Have you never had your arms half pulled out by a young creature, full of vigour and beauty, which would pass every other horse on the road? As our day declines, an easy chair may call us strongly, but in the heyday of life who has not delighted in chase of butterfly? With the power, life delights in doing; is in a state of bliss when doing.

All things that are, are with more spirit chased than enjoyed.

So much pleasanter is it to be doing than to be enjoying.

Life without an object is a languid and tiresome thing.

Things won are done; joy's soul lies in the doing.

Thus the expression of healthy vigour found in four extracts taken from Shakespeare's plays and Bacon's prose. Critics, of course, easily recognize the respective thought of the two masters. Nor is there any doubt that cheerfulness is daughter of employment, and in successful work is fulness of existence. The mark we start from in life's race is of little importance compared with the milestones we pass on our way. However advanced our starting point it brings no happiness if we must vegetate upon it. Thus the noted insipidity of a life where all is accomplished when only begun—royalty for example in many an instance—whilst where progress of years finds corresponding progress on the road, substantial happiness is a usual result. "The good of advancement is greater than the good of simple preservation," says Bacon, and above all we note that this happiness is in no respect inconsistent with the like happiness of other traffickers inconsistent with the like happiness of other in the fullness of success but would barter it all for the energy, the zeal, the hopes of his youth days? And as

we would secure national happiness this is worthy of our thought, how far do the employments of our people lend themselves to this steady progress? It would seem but little, and as far as this is so, so far is great sacrifice of potential happiness. On the contrary I am afraid it is usually the very opposite. Our younger workers start with their full capital intact—their health, strength and vigour—and then as they gradually use this up they lay by nothing to compensate for its gradual dissipation, with the result that the past has few triumphs or pleasant associations to cheer their evening of life. One of the reasons why our railway service used to be such a happy one was, that in past days with rapid expansion, promotion was certain and speedy. Even if a man did not start with the highest pay he looked forward to and secured advancement, which carried with it the double satisfaction of more cash, and being a step forward in life's journey. And whilst much happiness is thus lost, even more is sacrificed to Mrs. Grundy. A youth has to be settled in life. What determines his vocation? Is there money in it? is it respectable? Anything but is it work in which he will delight. And yet the secret of happy life is congenial work. But the number of square pegs in round holes that our social conventions demand is appalling. How many would have been in heaven as gardeners who are lackadaisical in an office? How many were born to be farmers who are dullness itself at a desk? Many are devoted to animals, to joinery, to the sea, to machinery, to travel, to motoring, and yet in respectable villadom it would be to lose caste to be a carpenter, a seaman, a veterinary surgeon or a chauffeur. The ambition of half the population in perambulators is to drive an engine or steam roller, or be a signal man, but by careful education we make it ashamed to even carry a parcel. Let the social

convention be that all work is equally honourable; that what alone is dishonourable is to be a slacker; let each gravitate to the calling for which he is most adapted, and the world would benefit and go forward with a bound and he would be very much happier. Now the money to be made is the compensation, then the work itself would be the satisfaction.

So again we find a source of happiness in an out of the way corner little associated with it. Do we realise what a dull world this would be if we never had a want. It is in wants, and wants satisfied, we find half our active happiness. No wants, and little would be ours but that mere passive satisfaction in existence to which we have referred. Think how much we owe to the craving of insistent appetite, whether of mind, soul or body, and the joy of satisfying it. Is not bliss largely commensurate with longing? Who has made shipwreck of life? He who has ridden in calms all his days, he who has never done and never suffered, or he who has dared, has been greatly tried and has greatly triumphed? A ledger account might show little difference in the final balance. In appearance it might be the same, but would it be so in reality? The one a record of a fullness of life, the other if not of failure at least of vegetation, at the best. To share her favours, far more fairly than we give her credit for, nature no doubt does balance with many compensating factors both ways. With failure of powers, or want of powers, comes cessation of desire, whilst many of our greatest joys are ever accompanied with our greatest cares. Witness children for example. And yet who are to be envied, those with or those without this priceless possession, yes even in these days of anxiety when realities have so often to make way for shadows only. Yes, is there one who would be without such memories; would barter such glorious triumphant

memories of trial faced and victory won for a past in which they should have no place; for a past in which joy and sorrow should be alike unknown. To such what an hour more in life's eternity of their dear company when every association is pride, and every incident recalled is joy. A day of glorious youth is worth an age of slumbrous dullness and decay. The absence of anxiety may be compensation to those who have never possessed, but would any who have possessed ever forego the one to secure the other?

Then again, so much does nature delight in playful paradox that perhaps it is to those to whom we always deny it that we should most give our sympathy. Not to the hardworked unless their work be excessive, nor to those who play hard—save pity that they have not worthier pursuits to engage their thoughts—but to those who need not work and cannot play. Born with a silver spoon in their mouth, having but to open it for *it* to be filled with all good things, their daily round is to kill time or to be killed with *ennui*. *Ennui*, curse of the idle rich, is at least one misery never endured by the happier poor. Their minutes may pass uneventfully, but they do pass and with no particular heaviness, whilst to the other getting over a vacant hour may be the serious problem of a day.

And here we note how much the rapidity with which time flies is a measure of how life fares with us as a whole. Of this we have a spirited summary in *As You Like It*, where Rosalind in dress of boy will speak Orlando—as she says—as a saucy lacquey:—

Ros.—Dost hear, forester?

Orl.—Very well. What would you?

Ros.—I pray you what time is it of the clock?

Orl.—You should ask me, what time of day; there's no clock in the forest.

Ros.—Then there's no true lover in the forest, else sighing

every minute and groaning every hour would detect the lazy foot of time as well as a clock.

Orl.—And why not the swift foot of time? Had not that been as proper?

Ros.—By no means, sir. Time travels in divers places with divers persons: I'll tell you who time ambles withal; who time trots withal; who time gallops withal; and who he stands still withal.

Orl.—I prythee who does he trot with?

Ros.—Marry he trots hard with a young maid between the contract of her marriage and the day it is solemnized. If the interim, it be but a sennight, time's pace is so hard that it seems the length of seven years.

Orl.—Who ambles time withal?

Ros.—With a priest that lacks Latin and a rich man that hath not the gout; for the one sleeps easily because he cannot study, and the other lives merrily because he feels no pain; the one lacking the burden of lean and wasteful learning, the other knowing no burden of heavy tedious penury. These time ambles withal.

Orl.—Who does he gallop withal?

Ros.—With a thief to the gallows. For though he go as softly as foot can fall, he thinks himself too soon there.

Orl.—Who stays it still withal?

Ros.—With lawyers in the vacation; for they sleep between term and term, and then they perceive not how time moves.

And now we come to the more essential phase of happiness, the mental. And the higher the life the more does the mental dominate the physical. And what the rules by which this mental happiness is governed? On this Philosophy, Morals and Religion—though this last we cannot now take into our consideration—have all much to say. Philosophy in particular has always much good advice to give, but no where do we find the common sense of the matter of this giving good advice better summed up than in *Much Ado About Nothing*. You remember the plot

how Claudio to be wed to Hero, the daughter of Leonato, has repudiated and shamed her at the very altar itself. You can understand the state of mind of the father and his very natural reply when Antonio is eloquent with wise counsel.

Ant.—If you go on thus, you will kill yourself:
And 'tis not wisdom thus to second grief against yourself.

Leon.—I pray thee, cease thy counsel,
Which falls into my ears as profitless
As water in a sieve: give me not counsel:
Nor let no comforter delight mine ear
But such a one whose wrongs do suit with mine.
Bring me a father that so loved his child,
Whose joy of her is overwhelmed like mine,
And bid him speak of patience;

.
If such a one will smile and stroke his beard,
And sorrow wag, cry 'hem!' when he should groan,
Patch grief with proverbs, ...
. . . . bring him yet to me,
And I of him will gather patience.
But there is no such man.

.
For there was never yet philosopher .
That could endure the toothache patiently.

On the whole it would seem that practically Happiness owes but little to wise sayings of savants, ancient or modern. * In philosophy the two extreme schools are to be found in the Stoics and Epicurean, with their counterparts found in modern thought. With the one, pleasure is the end of life, with the other, duty. Round the two the war of schools has waged with ceaseless conflict, but after all it is little more than a war of words. As popularly understood Epicureanism—"Let us eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die"—is not a noble cult, but its founder would not have recognized his teaching in such summary

of it. With the most fervent Stoic he would have man seek his highest happiness in the noblest way, but—he would have him seek happiness. Not so the Stoic. He would have man pursue duty regardless of whether it brought him happiness or not. So far replies Epicurus, I also would have him pursue duty, and only duty, for in pursuit of duty is happiness alone to be found. But as a man toils along a weary dusty road to reach his haven, it is the haven on which he sets his eyes, not on the dusty road. His object is not to travel that dusty road, but to reach his end. But to reach his end the dusty road cannot be avoided. The man who loiters by the way; picks flowers here, lies in the meadow there; is lured by golden bird by day or by firefly by night, will probably find himself in a quagmire before youth is well spent. The road to happiness is not all down hill, but still it is happiness for which we would make. Thus we may fairly epitomize his teaching, and in the result we need have little quarrel with such Epicureanism. I dare say it will prove as good a guide as the finer sentiment of the duty school. In fact, so far as it is more practical, it may have better results, for the danger of all fine talk is that it is so pleased with itself that it fizzles out in fine talk, and men of the finest sentiments usually keep their stock for use by other people. To-day none can pour out such a flood of fine sentiment as the German and our conscientious objector, and this should warn us against its use. Fine sentiments are the cheapest stock in trade of rogues and impostors, and with them both are usually well supplied. And coming down to facts does not the Epicurean well ask, "What boots it me if I pursue duty and thereby sacrifice my happiness? What shall duty profit me if my life is sacrificed on its altar? What is the world as far as I am concerned? The world? Myself and a few odd millions. All other entities are but

satellites revolving round my existence. Modest, but a fact. And if I fail of happiness, what matters anything else to me? Be our talk what it may, the best of us, the worst of us do crave for happiness, and nature intended that we should." And let us take advantage of this craving; let us not deny its existence when it does exist, but teach how in its fullness it is to be secured and only secured, that is by putting duty first. Duty done is the only sure road to happiness. The pursuit of happiness is a long shot. Those who mortgage their future to spend it to-day will bitterly rue the morrow. The advantages of virtue are never immediate. We benefit by past virtue; present virtue always involves self denial in some form or other. Were it otherwise, "*Cum vitia prosint peccat qui recte facit*, or as Bacon wittily translates it, "If vices were profitable the virtuous man would be the sinner—Yes admitting that our end is the pursuit of happiness, yet above all we need a just knowledge of wherein happiness really consists.

And this naturally leads us to ask, and what of the moral law. The foundation of the criminal law is the necessity for protection from enemies outside. The foundation of the moral code is the necessity for protection from ourselves. And this education should secure us, lest in early days through ignorance we make wreck of our lives by grasping dead sea apples, ashes within though fair without, instead of laying hold of what is really true and valuable. The evolution of the moral law seems the simplest imaginable. Rochefoucault tells us, "A man begins to give good advice when he is too old to set a bad example"—and as a rule the advice is good. Looking back is there nothing one would not have undone? We are only beginning to know how to make most of this life when we are about to quit it. We really want a second life here to

profit by the experience of our present one. As this is not to be, we try to give the rising generation the benefit of our experience. The game was not worth the candle, sums up many an episode, and on this experience the moral law is built. Where the game is worth the candle, philosophy, ethics and religion inveigh in vain. Thus what better instance than the love of money. If moral teaching could do anything, it would be the most despised weed in the country. But is it? Only when other people own it. "What," demands the preacher, "what can money buy that really matters? Can money buy love?" No! but it can buy something very like it, as witness that inimitable stage lover, George Alexander, and he is a fool by the adepts to be met in real life. "Can money buy happiness?" No! but it can buy a good time. "Can money buy regard?" No! But it can have half your world grovelling at your feet if you have enough. "What vice, he demands, "so insidious, so deadly, so boa constrictor like in its hug as love of money. In its pursuit all will be sacrificed. In the end whatever your worship in form, it will be your god, in fact on its altar you will sacrifice reputation, contentment, probity, and your best friend." And so on, and so on, he thunders out, and what more terrible than his familiar picture of a rich plutocrat but a starved soul. All most eloquent, but as far as their effect on our moral code, as Hamlet says words, words, and words are but air. Whatever the talk, man has made up his mind that the pursuit of money is a game worth the candle, and preachers preach in vain. And more, money in itself, quite apart from what it will buy, is regarded as a worthy end. As we read of Lord Coke in Aubrey's short lives, when one reflecting on his great scrapings of wealth, told him that his sons would spend it faster than he got it, he replied, "they cannot take more delight in the spending it than I did in getting it."

And so we could give similar examples in greater variety, and the more one studies the moral law as practised, not as preached, the more one is satisfied it is concluded by experience and not by exposition. But the one fatality in this evolution of morals is that youth is not willing to accept the dictum of age, but must try for itself. Hence the time it takes for experience to become part of the national life. But here we note that so far as moral law is founded on experience, so far it is an enormous factor in increasing the happiness of the human race, and it is rare that any can defy it as accepted without suffering for his folly. Whilst philosophy has no great influence save so far as it embodies the teachings of experience, experience itself is all important in moulding national character and national destiny.

But what is experience and profiting by it but an example of the great function of life to which we have referred, its power of adaptation to existing conditions by voluntary change. No doubt it takes generations, or a cataclysmic event like war to effect a substantial change, but what are centuries even in the life of a nation? We shall do our part if we set out on the right road, even if our progress is not electric in its speed. And after all an inch in the way is worth a mile in the clouds. And here to sum up our conclusions. In two respects we must regard the pursuit of happiness;—as it affects the nation at large, and as it affects us as individuals. As regards the nation as a whole our lines of progress seem indicated by the supreme factor, healthy life is happy life. In other ways we may influence one another, but collectively, the health of the community should be our first and last care. Let us work on these lines, and it would certainly seem that our work should not be in vain. Then as regards our happiness as units, which we have noted is to be found in

infinitely diverse ways, one fact does come out clearly, how much nature has done to make mere life pleasurable. No doubt the mental does dominate the physical, and at times like the present the mental is strained almost to breaking point. As you will have gathered, I am no great believer in the utility of telling others how to be happy when all their conditions make for wretchedness, and yet if I might suggest a few thoughts to such it would be,— Do let nature have free play in securing you as much happiness as is possible to you. Let nature secure to you all the happiness possible in mere existence ; in the light of the sun ; the sweetness of the air ; the breath of the flowers ; let nature secure to you all the happiness that health, animal vigour, and pleasure in activity can give, and above all let joyous memories of a golden past do somewhat to brighten the more sombre hue of a darkened present. If then you can call to your aid the resources of philosophy, of ethics, and above all of religion, you may perhaps still make considerable salvage out of your life's too sad wreck ; may perhaps be able to say that life is not wholly without hope, that life is not wholly a dark vain thing. Perhaps you may even be able to rise one step higher, and in all resignation with Job conclude, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right."

THE BATTLE OF THE ENGLISH METRISTS.

By HAROLD D. BATESON.

(I) VARIETIES OF ENGLISH RHYTHM.

THE Battle of which I speak in the Title has been raging at intervals during the last 300 years. It has been mainly a battle between quantity and accent, but now the supporters of the quantitative theory have split into two divisions, one represented by Professor Saintsbury, whose three volumes on Prosody are most interesting reading, and the other by the Poet Laureate, Mr. Bridges, who has been attracted by the theories put forward by the late Mr. Stone, and for the moment the accentualists are in the shade.

Now I do not pretend to say which is right. Dogmatism in such a case might be held to be matured puppyism. I will only say this, that I cannot see any beauty in the English hexameter formed on so called classical lines, and that my tendencies are towards the accentualist school.

I will go through the various schools, and if my audience differ I will freely admit that each man's ear is his own, and may be much more sensitive than mine. I believe my examples will prove that there is a sound English system, though exact rules may be difficult to find, and are still more difficult to express.

There are now at least four schools in the field which may be conveniently named as follows:—

- (1) The accentualist. Guest.
- (2) The quantivist. (a) Saintsbury.
(b) Stone and Bridges.
- (3) The sectionalist. Guest.
- (4) The musician. Lanier.

Much depends on the school to which each pundit belongs. If he is of the school of Dr Guest, nothing but accents and sections will content him. If he is a Quantivist, he will fight the old battle of quantity and accent again, or, again, he may be a Sectionalist pure and simple, and neither accent or quantity will have much meaning for him; or, lastly, he may be a Musician, and, in that case, if the Bar is to be the test, good-bye to Prosody as an exact science. If the only touchstone of Poetry be music, as King James expresses it in his quaint Scots' tongue, then the Songs of David and Solomon have been translated for us in verse not prose, and Whitman's prose rhythms are poetry. I don't pretend to be a pundit, I am merely a man in the street who takes an interest in an important branch of the study of the English language, too much neglected for many years by teachers and students of English.

But a study of the history of Poetry in the English language shows all the influences above named to have been at work. The Latin Poet of the Classical age was a quantivist, though he did not despise accent.

"Téndeabántque manús rípa^e ulterióris amóre";
the old English Poet was, as a rule, an alliterative sectionalist,

"I was wéary of wándering; and wént me to rést
Under a bróad báⁿk; by a bú^rnie's síde";

the middle English scanned by feet, but did not too closely observe quantities.

"Whan that Aprillè with his showrès swoote";
the post-classical Latin scanned by accent.

"Lóllai lóllai párvulé cur fles tam amáre";

The later English combined the four methods. It did not ignore the classical Latin but followed the post-classical. It scanned by accent but did not despise quantity. But that there is some sane law of Rhythm no one can doubt who reads Professor Saintsbury's magnum opus on English Prosody, though it is still open to question whether he has said the last word on the subject.

To my mind a great beauty of both Latin and English poetry lies in the regular recurrence of accent, often but not always in Latin falling on the long syllable, and in English on the accented syllable, and generally correct at the end of the verse.

Rhythm and melody are two of the jewels of Poetry. I define Rhythm as the regular recurrence of a sound group or its equivalent, rising or falling according to a regular scheme.

The sound of a drum may be made rhythmical. There is Rhythm in the noise of the wheels of a railway train, or the splashing of the waves on a shore; in the rise and fall of a pulse; in breathing, dancing, and so on.

I propose in this paper to give the views of the various protagonists of the different theories in their own words, then to give some examples of the poetry which seem to me to contain the most rhythmical movement, giving special attention to the triple rhythm, and finally to suggest the selection from the various theories of a working theory which will fit all schools and form a bridge of reconciliation for the quantivist and accentualist schools. I have no

great hopes of succeeding, and should not have attempted the task if your Chairman, who was acquainted with some studies of mine now 20 years old, had not urged me to initiate a discussion on the subject.

I have the authority of Mr. Bridges for the word "quantivist." It should, perhaps, be "quantitavist." But if a word has to be coined it may as well be a word which is easy to pronounce.

I. Guest's theory, the sectionalist theory, may be given shortly in his own words. He says that in considering verses formed of two simple sections the rules are:—

(1) Each couple of adjacent accents must be separated by one or two syllables which are unaccented, and not by more than two; and

(2) No section can have more than three or less than two accents;

"Mérrily swím we: the móon shines bríght:
Dównward we dríft: through shádown and líght:
Ūnder yon róck: the éddies sléep:
Cálm and sílent: dárk and déep."

And the song of Ariel:—

"Ōn the bat's báck: Í do fly:
Áfter' sūmmer: mérrily:
Mérrily, mérrily: sháll I live nów:
Ūnder the blóssom; that hángs on the bóugh."

But when he quotes Pope he has to resort to elision to keep the latter part of his first rule:—

Not só when swíft Camílla: scoúrs the pláin:
Flíes o'er the unbénding córn: and skíms alóng the
máin.

His book is most attractive, but his conclusions are at

the moment discredited, though they are by no means obsolete.

· II. Mr. Lanier puts the musician theory as follows:—

(1) No one has ever thought of referring rhythm in music to any other principle than the exact time relations among its sounds and silences;

(2) Rhythm in verse is precisely the same as rhythm in music, the sole difference being that one is suggested to the ear by speech sounds, the other by music sounds; and

(3) That the office of accent cannot begin until after rhythm is established.

This theory is also at first sight attractive, but a slight study of the theory of music would soon convince the writer of poetry that if he tried to emulate the variety of the great musicians, he could not proceed far without marking his poetry into bars of varying lengths with a fatal effect on his metrical scheme, as no one could possibly tell what syllables he meant to be slurred, and which to be pronounced.

Take for instance some lines from the Soldier's Chorus in *Faust*, familiar probably to all present, which may be read as follows:—

Glóry and lóve to the mén of óld,
 Their sóns may cópy their vírtues bóld;
 Cóurage in héart and a swórd in hánd,
 Réady to fight [or réady to díe] for Fátherlánd.

They are not very different in the French, but in French there are not more than eight syllables in the bar. The English as written is obviously a four foot measure ascending to the strongly accented last syllable, but if it is compared with the music of Gounod it will be found that in one bar of the music as many as ten syllables can be

crowded into one of the bars to correspond to the music.
 "Ready to die" is expanded into

Réady to fight or réady to díe,

and later on eleven syllables are found in one bar—

And boást he was trúe as a cóward might dó,

so that the bar which might contain as many as twelve syllables will not work in practice.

III. Mr. Stone states his position as follows—

(1) Accent and quantity are two entirely separate things, neither affecting the other in the smallest degree (except indirectly).

(2) I define the difference between ancient and modern metres thus:—In the one the verse scans by quantity alone, the accent being 'used only as an ornament to vary the monotony; in the other the functions are exactly reversed, the accent deciding the scansion, the quantity giving (some of) the variety.

(3) The final result on the ear I believe to be very much the same, but whereas we attend theoretically to accent exclusively, and are only unconsciously affected by quantity, with them the position was reversed.

There is something that is obviously true in each of the theories of which I have given an outline—like the curate's egg, each is good in parts.

It would appear possible that Guest may be right when he states that adjacent accents should not be separated by more than two syllables. That Mr. Lanier may be right when he says that the guiding principle is "time relations between sounds and silences." That Mr. Stone may be right when he says that the accent decides the scansion.

Professor Saintsbury builds on the foot, and he may

be right. He is right to this extent: that unless you scan by feet, accentual feet, not quantitative, no scansion is possible. Mr. Omond builds on "periods," but is not convincing.

Coleridge, in his preface to "Christabel," gives his rule as follows:—Count in each line the accents, not the syllables: though the latter may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents will be found to be only four.

A letter from Mr. Gairdner of Cairo in the "Times Literary Supplement" of June 1st, 1917, suggests very forcibly that the English language is not suited to a quantitative system of prosody.* The learned writer points out, however, that Arabic poetry is. He says that in Arabic the long syllable is considered as in Latin just double the short, and the tonal accents are weaker; but Mr. Gairdner suggests that there is no quantitative basis in modern English poetry, owing to what he calls the congeries of successive consonants, and that we cannot without torturing the language read English Hexameters in the manner of classical or Arabic verse—with which I am inclined to agree.

Having dealt shortly with this diversity of opinion, which is an initial difficulty of the subject, I come to the second difficulty, which is the absence of any proper or uniform nomenclature.

Why should it be necessary for English writers to borrow from the Greeks the names of their quantitative rhythms, the iambic, the trochaic, the dactylic and the anapæstic, when it is quite intelligible to call the iambic and trochaic double (or common) rhythms, and the anapæstic and dactylic triple rhythms, the iambic and anapæstic ascending to the accented syllable, and the other two descending from it? Why, again, should it be necessary to describe the metres of English verse as

tetrameter, pentameter, hexameter and septenar, when it is equally easy to call the different measures four, five, six and seven foot measures? If it is desired to make the names of the rhythms quite distinct and wholly English, the iambic might be called the *ascending double*, the trochaic the *descending double*, the anapæstic the *ascending triple*, the dactylic the *descending triple*.

But the classical names of the feet are now so familiar that it is advisable for the present to retain some of them, even at the risk of inaccuracy, to denote their general character.

Thus in Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton, the rhythm is, as a rule, iambic, an ascending double rhythm, and in the normal line there are five feet or, as accentualists might say, verses with five accents, hence the name five-foot iambic. Scott's favourite rhythm may also be called iambic, but in the normal line there are four feet, or, as the accentualists would contend, verses with four accents, and it may be named the four-foot iambic. Longfellow's "Hiawatha" is an example of the four-foot trochaic line, and his "Evangeline" of the six-foot dactylic line. Morris uses the six-foot anapæstic line; and so on.

The true classical rule is stated by Professor Ramsay as follows:—"In Dactylic — ∪ ∪ Bacchiac ∪ — — and Cretic — ∪ — verses and in verses scanned by double feet, a metre signifies a single foot, but in anapæstic, iambic and trochaic verses a metre signifies two consecutive feet." So that a fruitful source of confusion is introduced if the classic names of dimeter, trimeter and tetrameter are used.

It may be added that what are in this paper called the accented syllables are the stressed or strong syllables of other writers. Personally, in some cases I prefer the word "stress" to "accent," and I hope in the future that it

may be adopted, but the scientific book on metre has yet to be written. And when that book comes to be written I think it will be written on the lines that the classical feet—trochees, anapæsts, dactyls and iambics—do not really exist in English poetry except in the Commodian sense referred to in the second part of this paper. Mr. Omond, a well-known and thoughtful writer on this subject, has expressed the view that the attempt to find accurate dactyls, iambics and the rest in our accentually governed verse borders on the chimerical—but the chimæra disappears if accentual dactyls and iambics are allowed.

Quantity, as the Greeks and Romans of the classical age understood it, is not now in English poetry closely regarded. There are so many syllables which can be made long or short at will. As Mr. George Ellis, one of the writers on the subject, has observed: English poetry “depends more upon accent and emphasis—that is to say, upon changes in the tone or in the strength of the voice—than upon quantity, by which is meant the length of time employed in pronouncing the syllable.” For instance, many feet in the so-called iambic line in English would be called by a classical scholar spondees—but the heaping up of these so-called spondees has a ponderous effect:

“Thoughts bláck, hands ápt, · drugs fít, and tíme
agréeing.”—*Shakespeare*.

“Showers, háils, snows, frósts · and twó edged wínds
that príme.”—*Milton*.

“Pale quéen, pure quéen, dull quéen, forlórn queen ·
áye.”—*Marlowe*.

Where marking by quantity would be entirely misleading.

As to accent affecting English scansion, it is to be specially noted that in his scansion of the Song by Blake.

beginning: "The wild winds weep," in his third volume. page 12, Professor Saintsbury scans "make" long in one line and short in the next. (See pp. 17 and 18 *sqq*).

But "qui haeret in litera, haeret in cortice" the strong, stressed (sometimes very lightly stressed) syllables may surely be called the accented or stressed syllables, the misleading Greek and Latin names may be dropped as far as possible, and many difficulties disappear.

After the difficulty of deciding between the varying schools (accent, quantity, music), and the difficulty of nomenclature, a third difficulty presents itself—that of notation. Mr. Masson's* is excellent, but it irresistibly reminds one of the chorus of frogs in the *Batrachoi* of Aristophanes, and the a x, a a x, becomes wearisome. The marking of the long and short quantities followed by Poe (see vol. 2 of the Edition of his Works, published by Middleton in 1871) is, as appears on trial, misleading, and the best method would appear to be to mark the accented or stressed syllable with an acute accent (/), and if necessary, the unaccented syllable or syllables either common —○— or with a grave accent (\). If the accents are marked and the words of the poet pronounced as in English, it will be seen at once whether the line is triple or double measure. There may be no objection to marking the quantities also, especially the short quantities, but, for the reasons already given, it is preferable to mark the accented syllable with an accent.

If a formula is required, a cipher 0 may stand for the unaccented syllable, and 1 for the accented one.

Both Coleridge and Poe have indicated to some extent the principles which have guided them in metrical composition. Poe in his *Essay on the Rationale of Verse* has this passage—

* See Masson's *Milton*, vol. III, p. 107.

"To melody and harmony the Greeks hearkened with ears precisely similar to those which we employ for similar purposes at present, and I should not be condemned for heresy in asserting that the pendulum at Athens would have vibrated very much after the same fashion as does a pendulum in the City of Penn."

To this may be added the equally obvious truism that the method of breathing which accounts for the caesura, or middle pause, must have been the same in the times of Homer and Horace as to-day. Though pages and pages have been written by prosodians and others on this subject, the short and simple rule to note, (1) the number of feet and of accents in a verse or series of verses, and to note (2) the position of the middle pause or break, will enable a student to pick out the normal line, and will give a key to almost every form of English Rhythm.

A treatise might be written on the pause or break, but for the purpose of this paper it is sufficient to give a series of lines from Milton referring to his blindness, quoted by Mr. Bridges in his *Examination of Milton's Prosody*.

TEN SYLLABLES IN THE LINE.

Syllables.

- 5+5. Harmonious numbers / as the wakeful bird
- 3+7. Sings darkling / and in shady covert hid
- 6+4. Tunes her nocturnal note / Thus with the year
- 4+6. Seasons return / But not to me returns
- 1+9. Day / or the sweet approach of even or morn.

The above give five examples of the breaks. There are three others 8+2, 2+8, and 9+1.

- 8+2. Join voices all ye living souls / Ye birds
- 2+8. Yet fell : / remember and fear to transgress
- 9+1. And bush with frizzled hair implicit / Last.

It is of great importance to find in every case the normal or type line. When the normal or type line is found, it is remarkable how many variants from the type are possible if the elasticities of the rules of English Rhythm are understood.

“Athens the éye of Gréece móther of árts”

might be said by the quantivists to have two choriambics, and if an instance of a supposed choriambic in the 3rd and 4th places is required, Marlowe’s famous line may be quoted :

“Sée where Christ’s blóod stráams in the firmamént.”

The distribution of accents does not coincide with the feet, and thus the feet may appear uneven and arbitrary, and in this connection it is well to bear in mind a principle laid down by the late Mr. J. A. Symonds in the “Fortnightly Review” for December, 1874, where, speaking of Milton’s blank verse, the five-foot iambic, Mr. Symonds says* :—

“A verse may often have more than ten syllables, and more or less than five accents, but it must carry so much sound as shall be a satisfactory equivalent for ten syllables, and must have its accents arranged so as to content an ear prepared for five.” Mr. Symonds adds :—“The secret lies in preserving the balance and proportion of syllables while varying their accent and their relative weight and volume, so that each line shall carry its proper burden of sound, but the burden shall be differently distributed. . . . In this prosody, scansion by time takes the place of scansion by metrical feet ; the bars of the musical composer, where different values from the breve to the demi-semiquaver find their place, suggest a truer basis of measurement than the longs and the shorts of classic quantity.”

This is getting dangerously near the “Musician” theory

* Mr. J. B. Mayor calls this an æsthetic and not a scientific analysis.

put forward with force by Mr. Lanier and by others, but it contains a truth which must not be overlooked.

Mr. Symond's studies in Goliardic literature are well known to the initiated, and I cannot forbear quoting in this connection a passage from his introduction to his musical adaptations of the songs from the *Carmina Burana* and the *Gaudeamus*, which runs as follows:—

There is no doubt that together with the decline of ancient civilisation, accent and rhythm began to displace quantity and metre in Latin versification.

Quantitative measures like the Sapphic and Hexameter were composed accentually. The services and music of the Church (and the secular songs) introduced new systems of prosody. . . .

Poems of this class were technically known as *moduli*, and he quotes

Perstrepuît modulis · Gallia tota meis

Walter of Lille,

and another quotation with a shocking false quantity,

O admirabile · Veneris idöllum,

which he compares to the Horatian

Vitas hinnuleo · me similis Chloe,

and he adds

A deeply significant transition has been effected from the *versus* to the *modulus* by the substitution of accent for quantity, and by the value given to purely melodic cadences.

My own view is, as expressed above, that Mr. Symonds has gone too near to the musician theory, which I venture to think is a wrong one, but if once it is recognised that accent has replaced but not displaced quantity, many

difficulties will disappear, and the quantivists and the accentualists may at length cross a bridge of reconciliation.

The just balance and proportion of the sections into which English verses of five feet or of more than five feet are divided are as important as the rhythm of the whole line, and it is not to be forgotten that Anglo-Saxon poetry was sectional and alliterative, and not in any real sense quantitative; and also that Anglo-Saxon poetry is undoubtedly one of the many influences which have helped to start the wide stream of English poetic literature.

Anglo-Saxon, the native poetry of the English language, may be compared to the original fountain head of a great River which, on its way to the Sea, has received many tributaries from classical and post classical sources through Monks, Troubadours and others, and from French and Italian sources through the Normans, and through Chaucer and Milton, and is likely to receive many more from the English speaking poets in the Oversea Dominions and from America before it arrives at perfection.

Probably the best way of dealing shortly with the subject in a paper of this nature is to give examples of the different measures, and to analyse one or two of them, including imitations of the classical rhythms, so as not to weary the audience, but in such a manner as to exhibit a connected whole.

Those who prefer the Historical method must be referred to the weightier volumes of Professor Saintsbury, to whom all English metrists owe a debt of gratitude.

The following are examples of the different metres:—

The monometres or verses of one accent which Mr. Ruskin mentions only occur to give weight and point to measures consisting of lines of two, three, or more accents,

and are really exceptions, but Herrick has a good instance—

Thus I
 Pass bý
 And díe
 As óne
 Unknówn
 And góne.

It is quite obvious that Herrick did not regard quantity in writing these verses.

VERSE OF TWO ACCENTS.

I do not quote all the instances I have selected, I propose to take Hogg's address to a skylark, which illustrates the two foot dactylic in very beautiful verse.

Bírd of the wilderness,
 Blíthesome and cúmberless,
 Líght be thy mátin o'er móorland and léa ;
 Émblem of háppiness,
 Bléssed is thy dwélling-place,
 Óh to abíde in the désert with thée.

Wíld is thy láy and loud,
 Fár in the dówny cloud,
 Lóve gives it énergy, lóve gave it bírth ;
 Whére on thy déwy wing,
 Whére art thou jóurneying,
 Thy láy is in héaven, thy lóve is on eárrh.

I can find no more severe blow than this dealt at the supporters of the quantitative theory. The scheme of the metre is quite plain. It is somewhat similar to Hood's well-known poem—

Táke her up ténderly,
 Lift her with cáre,
 Fáshioned so slénderly,
 Yóung and so fáir.

but not, of course, quite the same.

The introduction of long syllables which must not be dwelt upon like "gave" and "so," show that any attempt to scan the poem quantitatively is doomed to failure.

You must scan by accent, and can scan it in no other way.

So Élorè, Élorè.

Yét for your courtesie,
 Bánish all jeálousie,
 Lóve for love lústily,
 Dó me restóre.

Thén with us lóvers young
 Trúe love shall rést and reign,
 Sólace shall swéetly sing

Fór evermóre.
 Élorè, Élorè,
 Élorè, Élorè,
 I love my lústy love,
 Élorè, ló.

From Herd, quoted by Aytoun, in the Ballads of Scotland—

"A missing bird of a scattered covey."

An old English instance, dating back to 937, may be given from the Brunanburh War Song (tenth century).

Fife lagon; on thaem campstede
 Cyningas junga; Sweordum aswafede.
 Fíve lay lów · on the báttlefiéld
 The yóung of kíngs · swépt away by swóords.

The principal rhythms in this metre appear to be trochaic, anapæstic and dactylic, but the metre is seldom used except in conjunction with verses of three or four accents, and a more common measure is the—

VERSE OF THREE ACCENTS.

Sabrína fáir,
Lísten where thóu art sítting.
Milton ("Comus.")

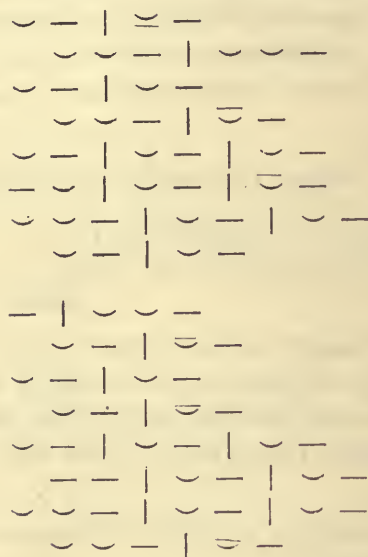
How swéet is the shépherd's sweet lót,
From the mórn to the évening he stráys,
He shall fóllow his shéép all the dáy,
And his tóngue shall be fillèd with práise.
Blake.

Blake again has a beautiful combination of the two foot and three foot:—

The wíld winds wéep,
And the níght is a cóld ;
Come híther sléep,
And my gríefs unfóld.
But ló the mórning péeps,
Óver the Eástern stéeps,
And the rústling béd's of dáwn
The éarth do scórn.

Ló to the váult
Of pávèd héaven.
With sórrów fráught,
My nótes are dríven.
They strike the éar of níght,
Make wéep the éyes of dáy ;
They make mád the róaring winds,
And with témpests pláy.

SCANSION, BY SAINTSBURY.*



VERSES OF FOUR ACCENTS.

In the scansion of all verses of four, or more than four accents, the middle or sectional pause which arises from the sectional character of early English rhythms, and is indicated by a point (·) in old manuscripts, should be noticed in all cases of doubt.

Iambic.

While that a mán · hath good to gíve,
 With gréatè routès · hé may líve
 And háth his fréndès · óver áll,
 And éverich of hím · téllè sháll,
 And while he háth · his fúllè pácke,
 They sáy · "A good feláw is Jácke,"

* See Sainsbury, vol. III, p. 12. It will be seen that the scansion by accents is preferable.

But whánne it fáileth · áttè lást,
 Anón his príse · they óvercást,
 For thán is thére · none óther láwe,
 But "Jáckè wás · a góod feláwe."
 When théy him póuer · and néedy sée
 They lét him pásse · and fárewell hé.

Gower.

Stíll to be néat · stíll to be drést.

Ben Jonson.

Trochaic.

Múses hélp me, sórrow swármeth,
 Eyés are fráught with séas of lánguish.
 Hápless hópe my sólace hármeth,
 Mínds repást is bítter ánguish.

Gascoigne.

Dactylic.

Sún that has lightened and lóosed by thy íníght,
 Ócean and eárrh from the lórdship of níght.

Swinburne.

An early instance from Robert de Brunne may be given—

Róuwen dránk · ás her líst
 And gáve the Kíng · sýne him kíst.

The foregoing instances are iambic, trochaic, and dactylic. The anapæstic four-foot is a favourite rhythm with Moore and Byron. The poem of "Christabel," to which further reference is made in the third part of this paper, is an instance of the iambic four-foot with trochaic and anapæstic variations.

VERSES OF FIVE ACCENTS.

This is used by all our great poets, and is capable of the utmost variation.

The fine lines in the "Tempest" give this rhythm of five accents at its best—

"And líke the báseless fábric óf this vísion
 The clóud capped tówers, the górgeous pálaces,
 The sólemn témples, the gréat glóbe itsélf,
 Yea, áll which ít inhérit, sháll dissólve,
 And líke this únsustántial págeant fádéd
 Leáve not a ráck behínd. We áre such stúff
 As dréams are máde on; ánd our líttle life
 Is róunded wíth a sléep."

Fár, far awáy from Olympus ánd its thúnder,
 Lóst midwáy in the vóices óf the níght,
 Liés a dim wíldernéss of váníty and wónder,
 Hálf amíd the dárkness, hálf amid the líght.

Lord Bowen.

And Mr. Noyes—

Óh, that Í were lýing únder the ólives.
 Lýing alóne amóng the anémonés;
 Gréy grows the thýme on the shádwless heádlánd.
 The lóng low heádlánd ' where wíhte in the súnshine
 The rócks run seáward, ít seéms suspénded
 Loné in an ínfiníte gúlf of ázure.

Ín the Híghlands, ín the cóuntry pláces,
 Whére the óld plain mén have rósy fáces,
 Ánd the yóung fair máidens
 Qúiet éyes.

Whére esséntial sílence chéers and blésses,
 And for éver ín the híll recésses,
 Hér more lóvely músic

Bróods and díes.—*R. L. Stevenson.*

With the níght for a gárment upón her, with tórñ wet háir,
 She is fáirer of fáce than the dáughters of mén; and her
 éyes,

Worn thróugh with her téars, are déep, as the dépth of
 skíes.—*Swinburne, Mater Dolorosa.*

An old English instance may be given (spelling
 modernised)—

I was wéary of wándering and wént me to rést
 Under a bróad bánk by a búrníe's síde.

The above instances are mainly iambic, but the other
 rhythms are to be found. In the examples given above,
 the different positions of the accents in the different lines,
 and the lightness of some of them are especially to be
 noted, but this is accomplished without interfering with
 the general characteristics of the rhythm.

VERSES OF SIX ACCENTS.

Lúcifer són of the mórning, oh spéed the fair dáy that you
 hérald.—*Lancaster.*

Oh thou fair tórch of Héaven, the dáy's most déarest light,
 And thóu bright shíning Cýnthia · the glóry óf the níght.

Drayton.

Thén said the Lórd · in the váult abóve the chérubim
 Cálling tó the ángels · and the sóuls in théir degré,
 Lo, eárh has pássed awáy · in the smóke of Júdgment Day,
 That our wórd may bé estáblished · sháll we gáther úp
 the séa.—*Kipling.*

How thén when the flámes flare úpward, ' shall í be léft
behínd.

How thén shall the wáy he wéndeth, ' be hárd for my fée't
to fínd.

How thén shall the gátes of Vállhall, ' and the dóors of the
gléaming ríng,

Clash tó on the héels of Sígurd ' as I follow ón my kíng.

Morris (Sigurd the Volsung.)

The iambic runs with a better lilt in the metre of seven
accents.

And sínging líke the mórning stárs for jóy that théy are
máde.—*Kipling*.

VERSES OF SEVEN ACCENTS

THE SEPTENAR.

These are frequently found in the old poets of the
thirteenth century, and can be resolved into verses of three
and four accents.

Thén from the stáble théir bright hórse ' Autómedón with-
dráws.

And Álcymús put póitrils ón ' and cást upón their jáws
Their brídles, húrling báck the ráines ' and húng them ón
the séat.—*Chapman*.

Hásten, Lórd, to réscue mé, and sét me frée from tróuble.
Sháme thou thóse who séek my sóul, rewárd their
míschief dóuble.—*From a Translation of Psalm 70.*

VERSES OF EIGHT ACCENTS.

These often are nothing more than two verses of four
accents "writ long."

And the ráven, néver flítting, stíll is sítting, stíll is sítting.

Poe.

Hárk, I héar the trámp of thousánds,
 And of ármèd mén the húm,
 Ló! a nátion's hósts have gáthered
 Róund the quíck alárming drúm,
 Sáying cóme,
 Fréemen, cóme,
 Ère your héritáge be wásted, sáys the quíck alárming drúm.

 Deáth shall réap the bráver hárvest, sáid the sólemn
 sóunding drúm,

 Bétter thére in deáth únited thán in lífe a récreant; cóme,

 Fór the gréat héart of the nátion thróbbing ánswered
 "Lórd, we cóme".—*Bret Harte (The Reveille)*.

(II.)—IMITATION OF CLASSICAL METRES IN ENGLISH.

Enough has been said to show the immense variety of English rhythms, and there is choice enough to satisfy the most exigent; but some writers, not content with the capabilities of the English metrical systems, have set themselves to imitate, as Guest expresses it, "in accentual verse the temporal rhythms of the classical poets."

Those who have written on this subject have, with one or two exceptions, omitted to point out the significant change which took place in post-classical poetry from the quantitative to the accentual system, *e.g.*, see the hexameters of Commodianus, an African Bishop of the 4th century A.D., and the rude camp songs of the Roman soldiers.

Homo unus Milie mille mille occidit.

One man has cut off three million heads—a prophetic utterance, if some liberty may be allowed to the translator.

Commodianus writes as hexameters

Respuis infelix · bonum dīsciplinæ cælestis
Et ruis in mortem · dum vis sine frenō vagari.

And again—

Dum nollent acciperē · frenum disciplinæ cælestis
Esaïam serrant · lapidant Jeremiām erecti
Johannem decollant · jugulant Zachariām ad aras.

And a final instance—

Cum nemo sit justus · in terris nisi e cælō venisset.

Every line contains at least one, and generally two or more false quantities.

The quantitative school seem to have forgotten the long period of time which elapsed between the time when the Romans left Britain and the Norman Conquest: a period of 600 years or thereabouts. If we think of the various influences which went to the making of English Literature between 1300 and 1500, the middle English period, we must not neglect entirely the influences which may have been at work between 500 A.D. and 1100 A.D., the old English period.

The invasions of the Northmen and the Saxons brought into England the alliterative poems of the North, and the rude post-classical non-quantitative or accentual songs of the Romans left in Britain must surely have had some influence among the common people, and though some of the monks (and chiefly Bede) in part led England back to classical models, still the old habits of alliteration and accent or stress would not be forgotten; and the battle of accent and quantity which may well have begun in those days has not yet ceased.

Dr. Guest, in his valuable "History of English Rhythms", which, if somewhat discredited by the many

attacks made upon it, must always be recognised as the work of a scholar and pioneer, points out that three Indo-European languages made time (or quantity) the index of their rhythm namely, the Sanscrit, the Greek and the Latin, and that all the others adopted accent. He adds that it is remarkable that those dialects which now represent the Sanscrit, Greek and Latin have lost their temporal (or quantitative) rhythm, and possess merely an accentual rhythm. He further states that so gradual was the change in the case of the Greeks that even as late as the 11th century there were authors who wrote indifferently in either rhythm. His next passage I venture to quote verbatim, as in the case of the Latin metrists we have now considerable evidence to show how the change came about. Dr. Guest says:

"The origin of accentual verse, as it now prevails in these languages, is by no means clear. Whether it were borrowed from a Northern invader, or were the natural growth of a mixed and broken language, or merely the revival of a vulgar rhythm which had been heretofore kept under by the prevalence of one more fashionable, and perhaps more perfect, are questions I shall pass by as being at least as difficult as they are interesting."

But a selection of instances, without much reference to the authorities, will perhaps be the most effective mode of dealing with the wide subject of the imitation in English verse of classical metres, though it must be remembered that the post-classical metres were the first to be imitated by English writers, in which, as has been mentioned, quantity was not too closely regarded.

It is possible, and has been done by Guest and Professor Saintsbury, to trace the varied influences that went to the making of English verse from their numerous sources.

(1) The old Latin scanned by feet and closely observed quantities.

(2) The post-classical Latin scanned by accent; quantities being very loosely observed.

(3) The Anglo-Saxon alliterative and sectional.

(4) The Norman French troubadours who did not too closely regard quantity.

(5) The monastic rhymes of the Goliardic School of Map and others also to a great extent disregarded quantities.

But this is not the place for a historical review, and it will be simpler, as in the first part of this paper, to give examples of the various imitations of classical metres, leaving the effect of them upon English poetry to be dealt with elsewhere.

I quote first in this connection a venerable writer who was at the time of the Conquest of England by the Normans undoubtedly the greatest authority in these islands on metrical art, Bæda de Arte Metrica, the Venerable Bede, who, in the 9th century, wrote his treatise "de Metris" on this subject for Cuthbert, his favourite pupil, "having carefully extracted it by constant labour from ancient treatises."

Bede recommends the Hexameter as the best form of verse, but he goes on to give instances of other metres, and especially commends the hymns of Ambrose, the iambic tetrameter, or four-foot iambic, and the trochaic tetrameter, or four-foot trochaic, in which metres so many of our Ancient and Modern Church hymns are written.

Bede lays down the Latin rules for the different metres, and there is little doubt that his treatise was the foundation of much metrical practice, especially in the Church.

TETRAMETER, OR FOUR-FOOT.

The iambic four-foot, he says, admits iambics in all places a spondee sometimes in the first and third, and he quotes :

A sōlis ōrtus cārdine.
Ad usque terroe limitem.
Christum canamus principem.

cf. :

Oh, Gód, our hélp in áges pást,
and the martyrs hymn, which always has the spondee in the first and third places :

Aeterni Christi munera.
Et martyrum victorias.
Laudes ferentes debitas
Laetis canamus mentibus.

The trochaic tetrameter, or four-foot trochaic, he says, admits the trochee in all places, and the spondee in all except the third, and he quotes, as an example :

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum
Hymnum cantus personet
Christo regi concinentes
Laudes demus debitas.

cf. :

Praíse the Lórd, ye héavens adóre Him,
Praíse Him, ángels ín the héight.

ANACREONTIC.

Bede also gives examples of the anacreontic, an anapaest, two iambics and a half foot :

Age jam precor mearum.

HENDECASYLLABIC

And the Phalæcic, or hendecasyllabic metre, the last-named being a spondee dactyl and three trochees.

Cantemus domino deoque nostro.

cf. :

Móving trémulous únder féet of ángels.

Swinburne.

HEXAMETER AND ELEGIACS.

The best instance of the English Hexameter, modelled on its Latin original, but not quantitative, which I have been able to find is Mr. Lancaster's translation of the famous 8th eclogue of Virgil. It is to be distinguished, of course, from the strictly quantitative hexameter of Mr. Stone and Dr. Bridges, which, as Wolk says, "cannot be called English verses".

D. "Lúcifer, Són of the mórning, O spéed the fair dáy
that ye hérald.

Ríse as I móurn for the lóve of a bríde most fáithless
of máidens.

Chánting a díрге to the góds tho' éver they túrn
from my pléading.

Dýing, and sínging the lást sad sóng of a lífe that
is wáning,

Blénd thy stráins, my flúte, with swéet Mænálian
vérses.

A. Kíndle ye láurels a fláme in the óne for whóm I am
píning,

Mágical mélody lúre from the cíty my língering
Dáphnis.

Háste to the stréam, Amarýllis, and cárry a véssel
of áshes,

Scátter them líght in the ríver, and túrn thy fáce
from the wátters.

'Tís but a vísion: yet hárk: I héar a stép on the
thréshold.

Mágical mélody ceáse; ye have lúred my língering
Dáphnis.

I have only been able to find one fair instance of English Elegiac, using the latter word in its classical sense of alternate hexameter and pentameter; again not strictly quantitative hexameters and pentameters; and this is to be found in Mr. William Watson's "Lakeland Once More".

Háunt of the vágabond féet of my fáncy for éver revérting,

Háunt and hóme of my héart, Cúmbrian vátleys and félls.

Yóurs of óld was the beáuty that róunded my hóurs with
a nímbus,

Tóuching my yóuth with blóom, ténder and mágical
líght.

Yóu were my éarliest pássion, and whén shall my féalty
fálter?

Nót till Helvéllyn is lów, nóttill Winánder is drý!

There is, of course, the well-known couplet of Coleridge:

"In the Hexámeter ríses the fóuntain's sílvery cólumn,

In the Pentámeter áye fálling in mélody bák."

which Lord Tennyson corrected to:

"Úp springs Hëxamëtér with míght as a fóuntain aríseth,

Líghtly the fóuntain fálls, líghtly the Pëntamëtér."

Here we strike at once one of the points at issue between the quantitative school and the accentual. Is the scansion of Hexameter in English Hëxámëtër or Hëxámëtér? and is Pentameter pëntámëtër or pëntámëtér? There can be no doubt about the quantities in Latin, but

who shall decide if Coleridge and Lord Tennyson really disagree on such a vital point? I say "really disagree", for Lord Tennyson's art was to conceal his art, and no one knew better than he did the value of the accent, even if he was wrong as to the quantity of "gruel" and did not know the quantity of "scissors". But he was probably right in insisting that if the Classical Elegiacs were to be strictly imitated, quantities must be strictly observed. In this Mr. Stone followed him to an extreme limit, and in pushing his view to its logical conclusion, proved to others, if not to himself, that English imitations of Classical metres which disregard the English accent, and adhere closely to Classical rules of quantity, cannot take root in England.

I give two instances from Mr. Stone of hexameters.

Fór that a crý, maidénly methóught, came shrilly abóut me,
Ís this péople a ráce cruél, savage, ímpious, únjust?

where the false accents on maidénly and cruél to my ear at any rate hopelessly spoil the verse.

Mr. Bridges in *Ibant Obscuri*, published in 1916, has the following as Hexameters:—

Hēnce the triplē throatēd bellowing of Cerberus invade
All Hell, whēre opposíte the arrival, he lies in a vast den.
But the sibyl, who mark'd his nēcklace of stiffening snakes.
Cāst him a cāke poppy drēnched with drōwsiness and
honey sweētened.

He, rabid and distēding a hungry, his tríples cavern'd
jaws

Gulp'd the proffēred morsel; when slow he relaxed his
immēse bulk,

And helplessly diffused, fell outsprawled over the whole
cave.

They cannot be meant to be read aloud.

Who can find harmony in lines like these?

Hence the triple throated bellowing of Cerberus invade
All hell, where opposite the arrival, he lies in a vast den.

There may be quantitative hexameters, but they are prose, not English poetry. Even the "strawberry jam-pot" ending is preferable.

Lord Bowen in his "Virgil in English Verse" has chosen the Hexameter docked of its last weak syllable, and his lines more nearly than any other represent the beautiful rhythm of the original.

Thére Aenéas behólds in a válley withdráwn from the rést,
Fár off gládes and a fórest of bouíghs that síng in the trées.

Aen. vi, 703.

Child of a nátion's sórrow if thóu canst báffle the fátes,
Bíttér decreés and bréak for a wíle their bárrer gatés,
Thíne to becóme Marcéllus!

Aen. vi, 879.

Swinburne also makes a fine use of this metre in his Song of the Standard:

This is thy bállner, thy gónfalon fáir in the frónt of thy
fíght,
Réd for the heárts that were píerced for thee, wíte as thy
móuntains are wíte,
Gréen as the spríng of thy sóul everlásting whose lífe blood
is líght.

Professor Ellis, the translator of Catullus, does not show quite such a disregard for English accent, but his Latin scholarship makes him somewhat too scrupulous for quantity, *e.g.*:

Clásping thén his són, spake Oégeus, stráightly
commánding:
Són, mine ónly delíght than lífe more lóvely to gáze on.

SAPPHICS AND ALCAICS.

The Sapphics and Alcaics of Sappho, Alcaeus, Horace and the classical writers of the Augustan age are less easy of imitation in English, but Tennyson, Southey and others have shown that, if once the rhythm of the classic odes is grasped, the roll of them can be imitated in English.

Tennyson's alcaics are excellent imitations:

Óh, mighty móuthed · invéntor of hármonies,

Óh, skilled to síng · of Tíme or Etérnity.

Gód gifted órgan vóice of Ēngland—

Mílton, a náme to resóund for áges.

Add to these the Sapphics of the Anti-Jacobin:

Néedy knife grínder! líttle thínk the próud ones

Whó, in their cóaches, róll alóng the túrnpike

Roád, what hard wórk 'tis crýing áll day "Kníves and
Scíssors to grínd, oh!"

And there are one or two (perhaps accidental) instances of amphibrachs:

I'm ín such a flútter,

I scárcely can útter

The wórds to my líps that come dáncing, come dáncing.

The following translations of the ode to Pyrrha, the metre of which goes by the Latin name of Asclepiad quintum, the base of which is the choriambic foot already referred to, may be submitted as another instance:

Whát stripling élegant woós thee adórablé,

Cóuched on thy rósy bed híd from the múlitude.

Fár recéssed in a cávern,

Scénted with delicate ódours.

Swéet Miss Simplicity, sóon a new dáy will come,
 Whén thy tempéstuous stórmş shall pass óver him,
 And engúlfed in amázement,
 Hé shall wéep thy incónstancy.

Whó in his ínnocence háppy and crédulous,
 Hópes to impríson thee éver unchángeable.
 Kínd to his loving émbrace,
 Blínd to chárm of anóther one.

Swéet Miss Simplicity, I know thy wíliness,
 I have expéриenced stórmş, but escáping them,
 Thánkful my votive tábleť
 Húng as my offering for Neptune.

HENDECASYLLABICS.

The Hendecasyllabics are more difficult, the peculiarity of the second foot being foreign to English ideas. Still Mr. Swinburne's beautiful line—previously quoted—

“Móving trémulous únder féet of ángels,”
 proves that they can be imitated with success.

See also Lord Tennyson's imitation of Catallus:

Oh, you chórus of índolént reviewers,
 Írrespónsible, índolent reviewers.

Just as the English dancer can evolve new forms of dancing from French, Russian or Eastern teachers, so English poetry can evolve new forms from the classics; and, though Swinburne will be found to have anticipated the most adaptable metres, Lord Bowen, who had true classical taste, has indicated that there were some yet undiscovered.

Perhaps a good instance of Hendecasyllabics is to be

found in a translation of the famous Fifth Ode of Catullus, from which a few lines may be quoted:—

Lét us Lésbia ságes tálk despísing,
 Líve for lóve only réckoning a téll tale
 Wóρθ just one obols míserable píttance.
 Sun rise and setting líttle do we héed it.
 When our sun is set wé may sléep for ever.

 Óld men énvíous énvý nóт our pléasure.
 Ónce ye were young and wé may díe to-mórrów.
 Sún rise and setting líttle do we héed it.
 When our sun is set wé may sléep for ever.

But these imitations by English authors have not been very successful. The genius, so to speak, of the two forms of poetry is different. It cannot be denied that there are instances where the classical metres have been adapted successfully, and it is hardly necessary to mention that some classical metres, such as the iambic, trochaic, and anapæstic, are not ill-suited to the even divisions of accent once quite familiar to the English ear.

POST-CLASSICAL METRES.

The imitations of post-classical metres are also noticeable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; for instance, there is Walter Maps' favourite rhythm:—

Lólla lólla párvulé, · cúr fles tám amáre
 Óportét te plángeré · néc non súspiráre.
 Lólla lólla párvulé · nátus múnдо trísti
 Ígrotúm cum máximó · dóloré venísti,

which in the English version is imitated in a similar metre freely rendered as follows:—

Lóllai, lóllai, little child, ' why wéepest thóu so blindly ;
 Mourning múst thou híther cóme 'to this world só unkindly ;
 Éver thínk thee in thy heárt ' of thése things thrée,
 Whénce thou cómest, whére thou árt ' and whát shall
 cóme of thée.

or, as the last line is in the original translation :—

Whán thou cómmist, whár thou árt ' and whát ssal
 cóme of thée.

Take again from the Carmina Burana :—

Inter háec aspícitur
 Cýtheréae nátus
 Vúltus ést sidéreus
 Vértex ést pennátus
 Arcum, láeva póssidet
 Ét sagittas látus
 Sátis pótest cónjici
 Pótens ét elátus,

which Mr. Symonds elegantly translates in the Goliardic Rhythm :—

Míd these pléasant síghts appears
 Lóve the yóung Joy Gíver ;
 Bríght as stárs his eýes and wíngs,
 Ón his shóulder shíver ;
 Ín his léft hand ís the Bów,
 At his síde the quíver ;
 Fróm his státe the Wórld may knów
 Hé is Lórd for éver.

One would like to quote more verses from this source. Only a favoured few in these days know the Confession of Golias, the Serenade to Flower of Thorn, the Adieu to the Valley, the Abbot of Cokaigne, the Order of Vagrant Students, the Poem De Contemptu Mundi, and the Gaudeamus.

(III.) THE METRE OF COLERIDGE'S
"CHRISTABEL."

Of all the varieties of English verse, the verse of four accents, which is a descendant of the early English and middle English alliterative line, best repays the careful study of the student of rhythms.

Dr. Schipper, a professor of Philology in Vienna, in dealing with this form of verse, distinguishes the "Viertaktig" verse of four accents, framed after the model of the French "vers octo-syllable," where the number of unaccented syllables is limited to four, or at most to five (as in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Byron's *Giaour*), from the Vierhebig" verse, also of four accents; but where the number of unaccented syllables is not limited to four, as in *Christabel*.

Coleridge in his preface to *Christabel* has formulated the principle (and he calls it a new principle) on which he has proceeded in constructing the rhythm, namely, "That of counting in each line the accents not the syllables. Though the latter may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents will be found to be only four."

With regard to this Dr. Schipper says, Book II, Part I, p. 245):—

"This is just the principle both of the freely constructed four-foot verse as used in old English poetry and of the four accented iambic-anapæst or trochaic-dactylic new English long line, which is frequently combined with it the combination forming a very popular metre in all new English poetry."

Dr. Schipper proceeds, p. 247:

"The claim raised by Coleridge to have discovered a

new metrical principle, if he did mean this was therefore in every respect unfounded. But it is quite conceivable that it came newly into vogue through him, and exercised a considerable influence on his contemporaries and on the later poets such as Byron, Scott, Moore and others."

Dr. Guest also, Vol. II, p. 142, gives instances dating back to the fourteenth century.

April is mérry · and lóngith the dáy = 10.

.

Singeth the nightingale · gredeth the jay = 10.

The hotè sunnè changeth the clay = 9.

As ye well yseèn may = 7.

Dealing with the variations of the metre Dr. Schipper points out (p. 248):

"The reasons for most of the deviations from the usual four-foot iambic verses in this poem, and also in Coleridge's poems, "Fire, Famine and Slaughter" and "Lewti," which are written in the same metre, can be easily discovered in the change of feeling or situation. Many of these changing relations between form and contents of a poem doubtless are due to a momentary inspiration of genius, but they certainly proceed just as often from artistic reflection, for it is not to be forgotten that Coleridge polished his poems carefully, and that he expressly alludes to the poetical purpose which the variations serve in the structure of his verse."

And after referring to the fact that this metre leaves the widest latitude to each person's individuality, the Professor quotes from Byron's *Siege of Corinth* :--

There shrínks no ébb in that tídeless séa

Which chángeless rólls etérnally;

So that wíldest of wáves in their ángriest móod

Scarce bréak on the bóunds of the lánd for a roód.

And the pówerless móon behólds them flów
 Héedless if she cóme or gó;
 Cálm or hígh, on maín or báy,
 Ón their cóurse she háth no swáy.

A short analysis of *Christabel* will prove the position of the accentualist school clearly.

The ordinary line is an iambic, the iambic or common (rhythm of four feet), and the formula is—

o i o i o i o i
 The night is chill, the cloud is gray.

And of these lines there are approximately making some allowances for differences of opinion as to scansion 433 instances in a poem of 670 lines.

Part I consists of 331 lines, and of these 198 are iambic.

Part II, including the conclusion to Part II, consists of 346 lines, and of these 235 are iambic.

Perhaps the best example of the rhythm in the whole poem are lines in the first canto:—

Thére she sées a dámsel bríght,
 Drést in a sílken róbe of wíte;
 That shádwy ín the móonlight shóne,
 The néck that máde that wíte robe wán.
 Her státely néck and árms were báre,
 Her blúe-veined féet unsándalled weré,
 And wíldly glíttèred hère and thére
 The géms entángled ín her háir.
 I guéss 'twas fríghtful thére to sée
 A lády so ríchly clád as shé,
 Beáutifúl excéedinglý.

Some of the iambic lines contain an occasional spondee,
e.g.:—

189. Sank dówn upón the flóor belów.
 201. Strike twélve upón my wédдинг dáy.

221. Her fáir large eýes 'gan glíttér bríght.

469. Spread smíles like líght. With nów surprise.

But these hardly require a separate classification. The spondee is interchangeable with the anapæst and the iambus, in every place but the last.

247 lines are left which require to be classified, and these may be roughly divided into the following seven classes:—

(1) Lines containing anapæstic feet (Formula 001, 001, 001, 001)=89.

(2) Lines containing trochaic feet (Formula 10, 10, 10, 10)=60.

(3) Truncated Lines (Formula 101, 01, 01)=36.

(4) Hypercatalectic lines (Formula 01, 01, 01, 010)=22.

(5) Iambic two-foot (Formula 01, 01)=6.

(6) Iambic three-foot (Formula 01, 01, 01)=5.

(7) Various combinations not falling under any of the above heads=31.

It will be seen that of these seven classes, the anapæstic lines are by far the most numerous. They are used for the most part to express rapid motion as the dactyl is in the *Æneid*, to express the flight of Camilla over the fields or the galloping of the horses on the plain. The most conspicuous example is in the 2nd part:—

Bard Brácy, Bard Brácy, your hórses are fléet,
Ye must ríde up the háll your músic so swéet
More lóud than your hórses' échoing féet;
And lóud and lóud to Lord Róland cáll
Your dáughter is sáfe in Lángdale Háll.

The following lines are quite exceptional:—

271. But váinly thou wárrést,

272. For thís is alóne in thy pówér to decláre

273. That in the dim fórest
 274. Thou héardest a low móaning,
 275. And fóundest a bright lády
 Surpássingly fáir.
 276. And díd'st bring her hóme with thee,
 In lóve and in chárity;
 278. To shiéld her and shélder her
 Fróm the damp áir.

If the accents are marked, these lines show a regular anapæstic rhythm, which will divide either into the so-called anapæstic dimeter or anapæstic tetrameter. In each case Mr. Coleridge preserves either the two or the four accents.

But at this point the question suggests itself—What does the analysis prove? Does it give us limits within which the variations of the metre are confined?

The question is by no means an easy one, and conclusions may differ.

A key to the incidence of the accents lies in the cæsure, which is always to be found in verses of four or more than four feet. It will be noticed that the cæsure divides the line into two sections, neither of which has more than *three* accents, the usual form being two accents in each section.

It will also be found that each pair of adjacent accents in the section of the verse so formed are separated by one or two syllables which are unaccented, and not by more than two. The normal line of the rhythm is clearly iambic.

But though Dr. Guest strongly insists on the sectional character of English rhythms, Mr. J. B. Mayor and modern writers do not follow him in this respect. The analysis of *Christabel* may tell either way; there are only two lines in the whole poem which would seem to require the aid of the sectional theory for their scansion. These are—

Line 225. Like a lády · of a fár countrée,
 And line 535. Flúttéring and úttering · féarfúl móan.

But assuming that the foot and not the section is the basis of the metre, the following four rules may be submitted:—

(I.) Mr. Coleridge's rule:—

"Count in each line the accents, not the syllables. Though the syllables may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each line the accents will be only four."

(II.) The normal rhythm is iambic, with anapæstic substitution, the anapæst being admissible in any foot and a trochee or dactyl in the first or third.

(III.) The metre is four-foot. There are only 11 instances of the two-foot and three-foot, and only 22 instances of hyper-catalectic verses out of upwards of 670 lines.

(IV.) The metrical ictus falls mainly on the second and fourth accents in the line, but this rule is not always observed, and where it is not followed the first and third accents are strengthened.

But most noticeable in the poem is the fact that it is not to be scanned according to quantitative rules. It must be scanned and was intended to be scanned by accentual rules.

From this a general induction may be made, and it is this:—

Mark verses for accent, not for quantity and on the foregoing lines.

There seems to me to be no objection to dividing the verses into feet, and calling the feet anapæsts, trochees, iambs, and so forth if it is understood that in English the feet are accentual, not quantitative, and that the names are wrong and misleading.

Personally, I cannot understand Mr. Saintsbury

scanning "make" long in one line, and short in the next, as in the instance given from Blake above.

But the difficulty disappears if the lines are scanned accentually, just as the Hexameters of Commodianus, though full of false quantities from a classical point of view, are sufficiently effective if scanned accentually. The English Hexameters scanned accentually are equally effective, but scanned quantitatively (as the extracts from Mr. Stone and Mr. Bridges prove) jar on the English ear.

Whether this attempt to replace quantitative scansion by accentual scansion is destined to succeed, I know not. I am convinced that it has the elements of success, but, like Mr. Stone on the other side, I feel that it is impossible to expect the quantivists to agree.

Liberation from the restraints of quantity has opened up new vistas to English poetry, and to go back to quantitative notation for the sake of preserving a pedantic pronunciation of "gouvérnor," or "maidénly," or "promón-tory" seems to me to be absurd. Though the poet of the twentieth century has so large a choice before him, he will not despise that "labor limæ" which requires rhythm and rhyme, the sense and the sound to be as near perfection as possible.

Carmen reprehendite quod non
Multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque
Perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.

I trust that the soldier poets of the coming generation will not follow the lead of the Poet Laureate, and try to go back to quantitative rules. The fine poems of Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Rupert Brooke showed that they had the root of the matter in them.

English words must be pronounced in accordance with English practice and not in accordance with Greek or Latin rules, nor is it necessary to preserve too closely a rigid

adherence to the normal line. We want natural, not artificial, rules, and not too many of them.

I quote, in conclusion, a passage from a letter of Mr. C. C. Tarelli in June, 1899. Speaking of one form of English metre, Mr. Tarelli says:—

“The conclusion of the whole matter is that the English hexameter should obey the laws of English verse: that its scansion should be based upon accent, but should not ignore quantity: that the cæsura should be observed: that trochees (except in the final foot) should be avoided as much as possible, but should be preferred to spondees which involve an unnatural and unpleasant heaping up of monosyllables. Only one thing more is required: a poet with a beautiful theme, an abundance of inspiration, and an easy mastery of the English language.”

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